

# THE NEW NATION



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## THE NEW NATION

A Survey of the Condition and Prospects of  
South Africa

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# THE NEW NATION

A Survey of the Condition and Prospects of  
South Africa

BY

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LONDON  
GEORGE BELL & SONS  
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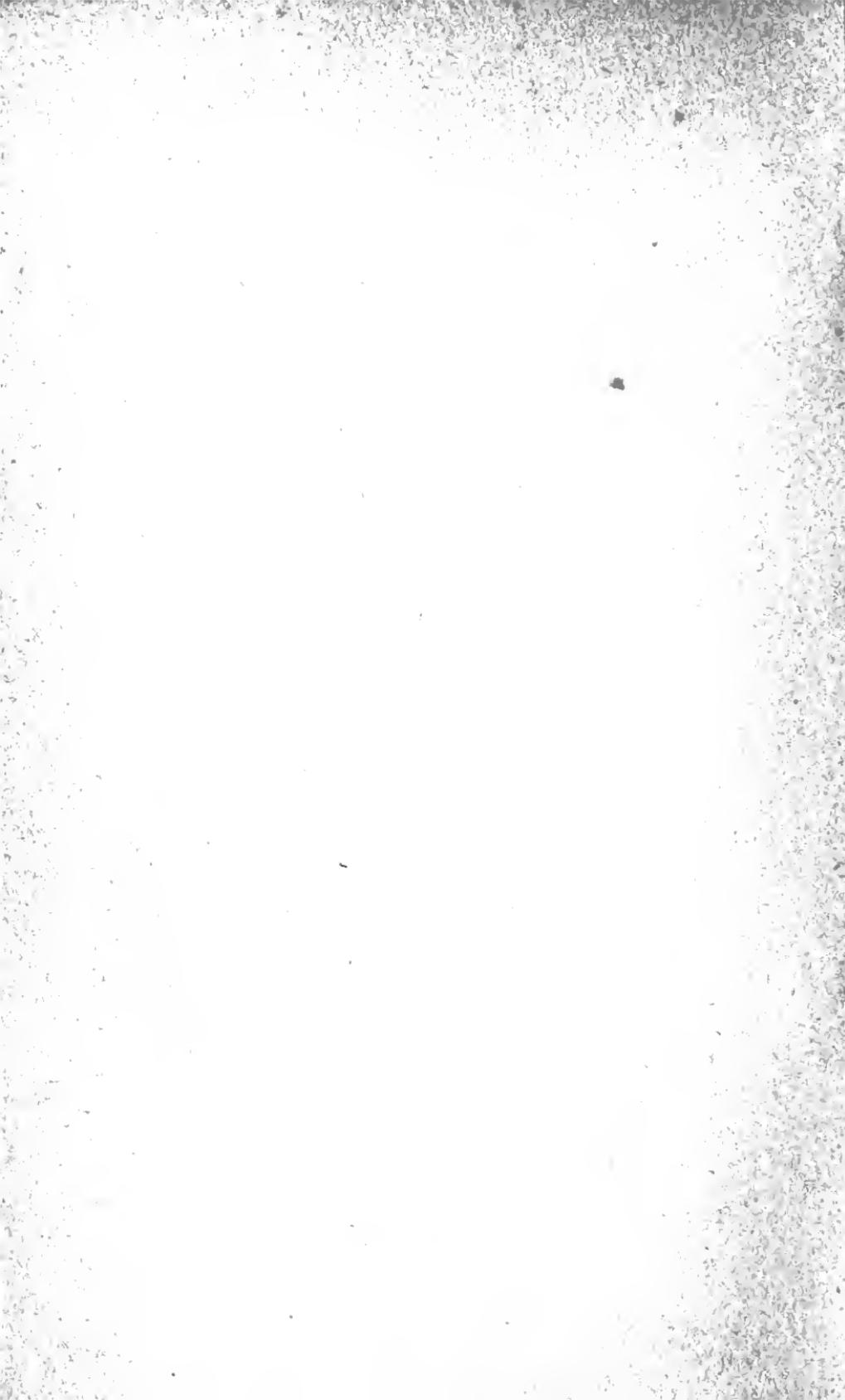
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and the British Colonies*

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED  
TO THE MEMORY,  
NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN BY SOUTH AFRICANS,  
OF  
SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN,  
WHO GAVE PEACE TO SOUTH AFRICA,  
AND ESTABLISHED THERE  
THE MORAL AND POLITICAL POSITION OF ENGLAND  
BY TEACHING HER  
NOT TO FEAR HER OWN GREATNESS.

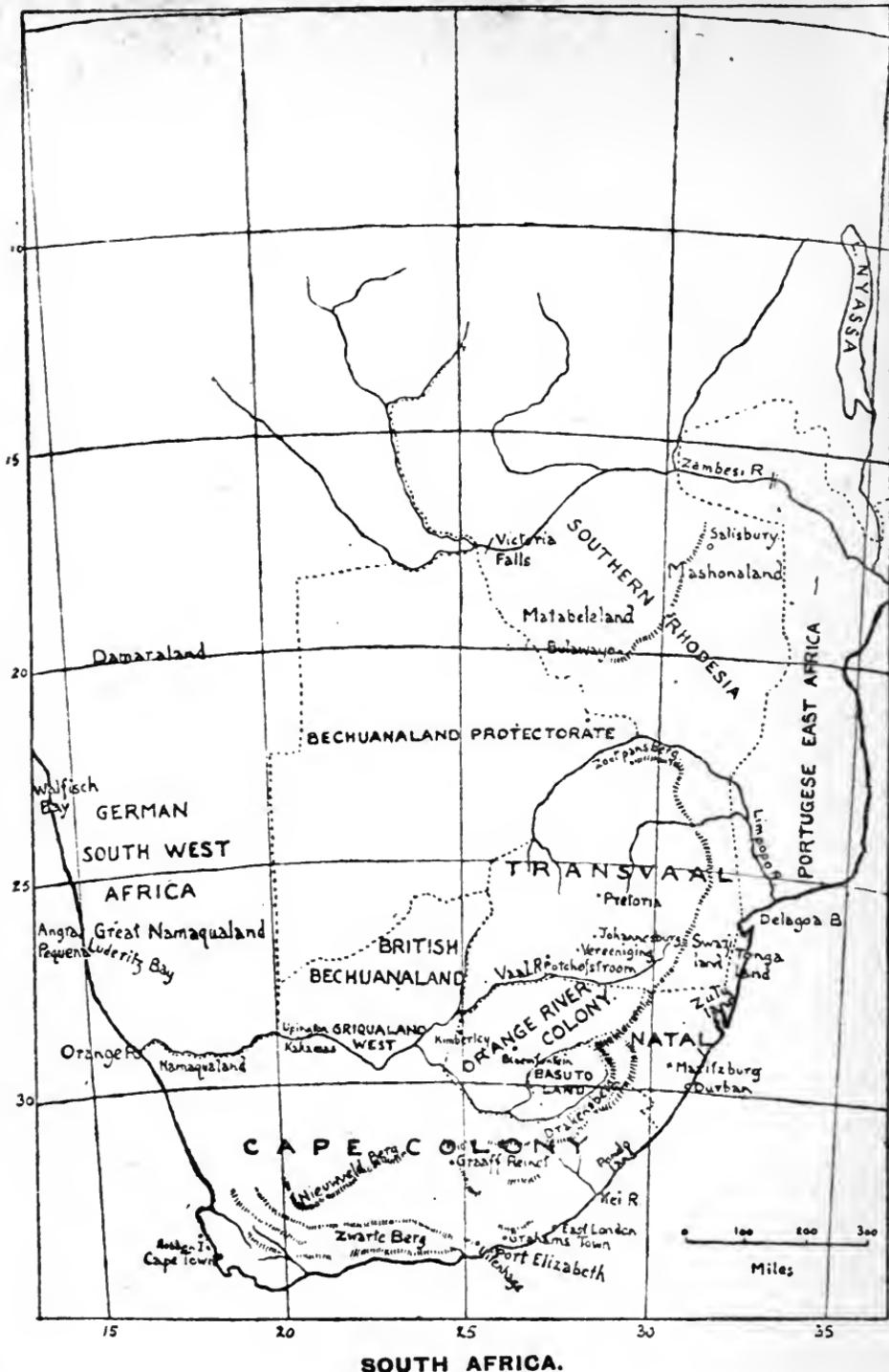


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## **SOUTH AFRICA.**

## INTRODUCTION

THE emergence of a new nation must always be an event of importance. That the new nation should be an addition to the family of nations which make up the British Empire must be a source of pride to citizens of that Empire, and may well challenge enquiry in the world at large. That it should appear in South Africa and at the present time must make its advent a matter of special gratification and wonder—gratification because this happy event marks the end of a century of trouble, proclaims the occupation of the greatest sentinel's lodge and citadel of the world by a permanent garrison, and formulates the most definitive claim that has yet been made by civilization to a resting place and basis of operations in the dark continent; wonder because the consummation follows so hotly on the peace made at Vereeniging in 1902.

To South Africans, thwarted for generations in

their endeavours after union, progress and prosperity by external interference, often well-intended, but almost always pernicious, the realisation of the long dream of national union and the acquisition of unchallenged freedom to work out a great destiny carry with them such relief and joy as make the strongest words seem weak. This fulfilment of the earnest expectation of South Africans, this triumph of the tolerant statesmanship of England, this fresh vindication to the world of the undiminished potency of old principles form the occasion and theme of the following pages, in which an attempt is made to read the horoscope of the new nation.

It follows that this book is but little concerned with bygone controversies, perhaps least of all with those which have produced the most violent convulsions. When the first Napoleon had established his authority in France an eminent writer produced a volume tending to vindicate the cause of the Revolution against the Royalists. It was received with much disfavour by the Emperor, who declared that he had no wish to see the foundations of the existing settlement exposed and subjected to fresh question in order to furnish the periods of a rhetorician. The foundations of the settlement in South Africa are made of far more durable stuff

than those of the First Empire, but there are few South Africans who would not agree that dying controversies must now be left to care for themselves, and dead controversies to find burial as they may.

No doubt, ignorance with regard to South Africa may still sometimes be seen stalking and parading itself abroad, and doing positive harm by creating disquiet where there is no cause for disquiet, or by arousing ill-feeling where justice and truth would command peace. For instance, it is sometimes whispered in South Africa that England never paid the amount stipulated for the definite cession of the Cape in 1815, although the curious history of the Russo-Dutch loan, by which the payment was duly made, is open to all. To be sure, in a country where there is so much to learn, and where so much lies below the surface, the wisest are most conscious of their ignorance, and to those who look at it from a distance it must be almost impossible to distinguish between the mountains and the clouds. As a result of all this, the satisfactory elements in the South African situation are very generally overlooked, and consequently they have repeatedly been arrested and paralysed by importunate interference designed to create them.

Let us see how this works. Thirty years ago Lord St. Aldwyn, then Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, was Colonial Secretary, and had a hand in shaping the history of South Africa in regard to the position of the Transvaal and the question of Federation. Ten years ago, speaking at Bristol, he very generously admitted that in dealing with South Africa as Colonial Secretary he had been guilty of serious mistakes. Two years ago, speaking at East London, he expressed cordial approval of the speech in which General Botha had just enunciated his policy on taking office as Prime Minister of the Transvaal. It may have been impossible for an English Statesman in 1879 to discern certain essential elements in the South African situation which existed already in germ, and which are now plainly apparent. But if the Colonial Secretary had recognised the germ in 1879, many brilliant but costly pages of history might have been spared.

Even now there are many who look on South Africa with misgivings, and impart their misgivings to others, through failure to gauge the strength of the forces which ensure and guarantee the reality of South African peace. It may therefore not be amiss to preface the examination of the question of South African consolidation by a statement of the

situation on the eve of the contemplated union. Many books have been written about South Africa. Notable contributions to the literature of the subject have been made by illustrious visitors, such as Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Bryce, who have surveyed the country with a sympathetic and penetrating gaze. There have also been books by South Africans, written for the most part under the influence of a controversial fever, which has precluded them from a just appreciation of men united with them as South Africans, but separated from them by race and language. There is still much unoccupied space left for the writings of South Africans who can sincerely say: "Africanus sum; Africani nihil a me alienum puto." "We are South Africans, and in our hearts we regard none of the people of South Africa as alien."

This book starts with the assumption, grounded on knowledge of both parties, that, speaking generally, the South Africans who speak English are now at peace with the South Africans who speak Dutch. Three years ago Lord Crewe, the present Colonial Secretary, said that the Imperial Government was neither pro-Boer nor anti-Boer. In South Africa we have now advanced far beyond this, and there are few who would not acknowledge

that in order to be really pro-Boer a man must be pro-British also, and in order to be pro-British he must be pro-Boer. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that we are all pro-British and all pro-Boer.

We have undergone a marvellous change, and can now even afford to look back upon it. As late as 1905 a singularly acute observer,\* reckoning the figures of the white population in South Africa, declined to include the people of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal on the ground that after the war they could no longer be counted as part of the dominant race. All through South Africa the bulk of the English-speaking people were arrayed against the bulk of the Dutch-speaking people. The different parties in each of the three larger Colonies made no secret of their sympathies with the corresponding parties among their neighbours, and in England the South African parties were habitually, though inaccurately, described, the one as British and the other as Dutch, and the former was sometimes exclusively described as Loyalist. Some of its leaders in the Transvaal openly expressed their profound suspicion of their opponents, even in regard to those basic questions

\* H. Speyer. "La Constitution Juridique de l'Empire Colonial Britannique."

about which in a peaceful community all parties are admittedly at one. In the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and even the Cape Colony, trivial police affairs were represented as threatenings of insurrection. Altogether, it is hardly surprising that some critics pronounced the day of national union in South Africa to be still far off.

But from the first the division of South Africans on racial lines was believed by many to be unnatural, seeing that the interests of the two races are not conflicting but complementary, so that the question at issue was not whether the interests of the one or the other should be pursued, but whether the Dutch could be relied upon to work for the interests of all and not for themselves in particular. Nearly three years ago a milder tone began to pervade the utterances of those who have been doubtful on this point. They were defeated at the polls in 1907 and 1908, not because the British vote was outnumbered, but because they were not sure of their own ground, and because the British vote was deeply divided. In the Cape Colony especially the number of Englishmen who felt able to work harmoniously with the men of Dutch speech has always been considerable, and has made such rapid advance in recent years that of the fifty-one English South Africans elected as members of the

House of Assembly in 1908, nineteen, or over thirty-seven per cent., are supporters of a ministry which enjoys the confidence of practically the whole Dutch-speaking section of the people. Without the support of these nineteen their allies would be in a minority. Before the year was over expressions of distrust by over-zealous partisans in England were rebuked by the leading organs of what was the opposition in South Africa, and in Natal the press as a whole had ceased to allow similar expressions by local politicians to pass without protest. It would be too soon to say that the spirit of distrust is dead in South Africa. There are ebullitions from time to time on both sides which the friends of peace in South Africa deplore. Nor can peace be hurried. During the electoral struggle in the Transvaal in 1907, General Botha announced that he had offered to form a coalition government with his opponents, who had rejected his overtures. But as between South Africans of English and Dutch speech there are already coalition governments in each of the three largest Colonies, and the whole movement of events is away from suspicion and towards mutual tolerance and respect, resulting not, directly at any rate, from victory and defeat, but from a genuine convergence of view, as urgent national questions begin to fill

men's minds, leaving no room for merely sectional considerations.

This great forward movement cannot be wholly attributed to any single event. There are three general causes for the decay of suspicion, only one of which at most is concentrated in a single incident. Suspicion of the Dutch-speaking people has languished, and must continue to languish; first, because the heart of this people is essentially sound and fit for the fullest interchange of friendship with men of English origin; secondly, because the people have made great progress in education and appreciation of education, so that unenlightened views are less and less current among them, and their leading men are increasingly well able to explain their real position and objects to their supporters; and, thirdly, because the grant of self-government has forced all sections to meet, with the result that the good qualities of each and the groundlessness of suspicion have become apparent to all. The first point hardly admits of direct argument. The essential character of a people is not a matter of ponderable fact, although men who have seen them and mixed with them freely may fairly express an opinion, and it will be found that, when second-hand opinion has been eliminated, there is not much divergence

of view about the character of the Dutch-speaking section of the South African people. But, after all, that character is best illustrated by the policy which the people supports, and for the present it shall be left to speak for itself through the character and actions of the recognised leaders. This brings us to the second point.

Everyone is aware of the loss which the war inflicted on all concerned. But it would serve no good purpose to deny that some good has come out of that great evil. The endurance and pertinacity of the Boer have won him an immortal name and silenced his detractors in South Africa and elsewhere. On the other hand, he has not failed to appreciate the good qualities of the British troops, and the private soldier in particular has strewn the whole of South Africa with admired memories of his dauntless courage and his unfailing good humour. The war has proved the virility of both sides. But this is by no means all. It has done more to win respect for education than all our compulsory clauses and all our homilies. General De Wet has lost no opportunity of saying that in the war it was the educated men who showed the greatest determination and did most to make their people famous. This fact is universally admitted, and its force is everywhere felt. In

consequence unlettered men, whose worth was too often hidden behind a screen of narrow opinions and uncouth demeanour, have been replaced in the position of leaders by men who are familiar with the modern world and readily intelligible to its children. Some time ago Mr. Esselen, since the war, as before it, one of the most influential men in the Transvaal, declared that all the leaders of "Het Volk," the great political association of the Dutch-speaking people of the Transvaal, were anti-Krugerites before the war. No doubt they admired President Kruger, and appreciated his strength and determination and his ardent love of South Africa; but they believed before the war that a liberal policy towards the new population of the country ought to have been followed, and certainly nothing that has happened since has tended to weaken that view.

In the Orange River Colony General Herzog and others have declared that they welcome English settlers on the land, although the country is not in a position to pay for introducing them at the present time. Throughout South Africa the leaders of the old population recognise that they must earn the cordial goodwill of Englishmen, not only because without substantial English support they cannot hope to remain in power,

but also because with half the people of the country discontented the country cannot enjoy peace, and every material cause for discontent must mean the shutting-out, in one way or another, of the stream of wealth and prosperity.

There is even now a tradition current in some South African circles that the Boers are wedded to obsolete methods of agriculture, and that their leaders are set on entrenching them in their resistance to the progress of efficiency. General Botha, as Secretary for Agriculture in the Transvaal, and General De Wet, who holds the same post in the Orange River Colony, have finally disproved these accusations, having acted throughout with the utmost determination in support of sound farming. In short, one of the main reasons for the better understanding between the different races in South Africa is that it is not now possible to attribute to any one of them as a whole a perverse devotion to exclusive politics or obsolete methods.

It is not too soon to do the Governments of the new Colonies the justice of pointing out that they have belied the fears of those who believed that they would exercise their power without regard to the interests of the British section. Those interests are at present almost entirely confined

to the mining industry and the Civil Service. The mining industry is now more productive and on a sounder basis than ever before. Its captains have generously acknowledged the generous help given them by the Government in recruiting the necessary labour. The last of the Chinese will soon be gone ; but no place vacated by a coolie has been left vacant ; no agitation now disturbs the security of the industry ; no unjust taxes have been imposed. On the contrary, the Transvaal Government has done its best to lighten the taxation on the industrial community. Justice cannot do less than pronounce that the Botha Government has been a good friend of the mining industry. As regards the Civil Service, it has to be remembered that many of the Dutch-speaking people find an official life attractive. In the Cape Colony racial distinctions are almost unheard of in the Civil Service ; in all ranks and in all offices men of different race are freely intermingled. Bearing this in mind, the reader will appreciate the force and meaning of a few plain facts which will now be stated. First, the population of the Transvaal is about equally divided between English and Dutch. Secondly, judging by the University examinations, the Dutch section of the population is at least as well educated as the English. Thirdly, after the war it

was considered necessary to disregard all the rights of the old Civil Servants, who had been far too exclusively Dutch, and to substitute an almost completely new Civil Service, not much less exclusively English. Fourthly, the Botha Government was compelled by financial exigencies to carry on the measures of retrenchment very properly initiated by Lord Selborne, and as the Civil Service was almost wholly English, the men dismissed were much oftener English than Dutch. Fifthly, among the names of the Civil Servants appointed by the Botha Government the English outnumber the Dutch by a hundred, or nearly 50 per cent. Sixthly, in the latter part of 1908 it was found that on the list of Transvaal Civil Servants there were 737 Dutch names, while 3,870, or more than five times as many, were English. Finally, the Opposition in the Orange River Colony has openly confessed that the Government there has not shown any tendency to bestow special favours on men of their own race. But, indeed, in South Africa itself very little is heard of these charges of racial favouritism in the Civil Service.

If it were necessary, it would be easy to show that the British section of the people, as represented by politicians of different parties, is no more inclined to proscribe Civil Servants with Dutch

names than General Botha is inclined to penalise Civil Servants with English names. But the suspicions of the past have been directed against one side only, and it is not therefore necessary to defend those who have not been attacked. It must not, however, be supposed that the Dutch-speaking people have not had difficulties of their own. Soon after the war Mr. Vorster, a leading Minister of the smaller Dutch communion, commonly, though improperly, known as the "Dopper Church," published some remarkable open letters, declaring with great force that there were but three courses open to the Dutch-speaking people: they must become English, or they must live as a separate community, or they must leave the country and find some other home for their race. The first of these three alternatives he regarded as inadmissible, the second he saw to be impossible, the third he proclaimed as necessary. Accordingly an organisation was established, and a large number of families shook the dust of a too English South Africa from their feet and endeavoured to form a settlement in Argentina. The country where they settled was unpropitious. Many of them have perished; their leader, once a friend of Rhodes and member of the Cape Parliament, is dead; some have found their way back to South

Africa ; and the last trek is over. Nevertheless, Mr. Vorster's views represented the feelings of a very considerable number of the people. Of his three alternatives the third as well as the second has now been proved impossible ; there remains the first—that the Dutch should become English. This, according to his letters, was the universal tendency. Everyone, he said, was now learning English. The Dutch people, the Dutch papers, the Dutch political leaders, all seemed bent on Anglicisation. Indeed, to tell the truth, Mr. Vorster himself was master of the English as well as of the Dutch language. In short, Mr. Vorster knew that he was on the losing side, and because he knew it he unconsciously produced the most cogent evidence to break down the suspicion of the English section that the Dutch section was essentially antipathetic, and so to facilitate that very drawing together which he regarded with so much apprehension.

The Argentine trek, however, plainly showed that there was a real force behind Mr. Vorster's theories. Nor was it all on one side. Indeed, this remarkable incident brought to a head the central problem thrown up by that seething turmoil of blind principles violently warring against each other in the dark which is the history of South

Africa. Can English and Dutch blend without offering up on the altar of Peace sacrifices more precious than Peace herself? Is the man of Dutch speech who mixes freely with the man of English speech thereby becoming an Englishman, as Mr. Vorster averred? Or is the man of English speech who learns to feel at ease among men of Dutch speech thereby becoming a Dutchman, as others have not less vehemently contended? It is vain to dismiss such questions as absurd. South Africa has long wrestled with them, sometimes without recognising them, and England has halted between two opinions about them at least as much as South Africa. But at last, left to face them in solitude, South Africa is answering them with a confident negative, and it is the shout of this triumphant assurance that calls the new nation to its birth.

This great discovery of the mutual compatibility of the two races, the revelation that the essentials of national character on either side are not exclusive of the essentials on the other, the recognition that beneath and behind divergency there lies an identity insensibly and inevitably resulting from increasing attachment and adaptation to a common country which possesses and imprints upon its children marked characteristics of its own—all this

has been brought about by the grant of self-government to the new Colonies. That it might have come about in another way, through the beneficent persistence of nature triumphing over the infatuations of politicians, is not impossible. But had the issue been staked on that chance the change might probably have come in the form of an earthquake, or it might not have come at all. The significance of the grant of self-government to the new Colonies was immediately apprehended in South Africa. Both in Cape Colony and in Natal the people, through their representatives in Parliament, expressed their cordial gratification. General Botha, Mr. Steyn, General de Wet, Mr. Fischer, now Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony, in fact, all the leaders of the Boer people, have given the most generous expression in public, as in private, to their sense of the greatness of that act of audacious justice. Most of them have emphasised its generosity, and made it plain that unflinching generosity on one side creates lasting generosity on the other. Mr. Steyn takes his stand on even firmer ground. Self-government, he says, was promised at Vereeniging; the promise has been fulfilled in the spirit and in the letter. Thus the whole people is now bound in honour to show justice as it has received justice,

and the grant of self-government has purchased the faith of a nation as a guarantee of peace. The appeal to the sense of justice and generosity has certainly aroused a decisive response; nor can there be any mistaking the fact that this comes from the heart of the people. Mr. Bosman, the Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Transvaal, declared in a sermon that he now thanked God for the British flag, which had made possible the union of the South African people. "De Fakkel," the organ of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Orange River Colony, expressed in language of touching simplicity the gratitude of the people. The Transvaalers have marked their sense of the greatness of the boon by presenting to the King the richest diamond ever discovered in the world, as a token of loyalty—so the official text reminds us—and in commemoration of the grant of responsible government to their country. The immediate effect was stated with the eloquence of precision by the Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, Sir Henry de Villiers, perhaps the most experienced of South Africans, at the great celebration of the Tercentenary of the founding of Quebec. Standing up as the appointed spokesman of the four Colonies of South Africa, in the presence of the Prince of Wales and the represen-

tatives of the whole Empire and of the great American and French Republics, he said: "A policy of trust was adopted, with the novel result that a sullen and discontented people were, as if by magic, changed into law-abiding and loyal subjects."

This great achievement, sublime in its simplicity, is of more than South African and more than Imperial significance. It is an event which must always stand out in the history of government and indeed in the history of the world. Only the future can write down the bountiful total of its pregnant consequences. But already it marks the end of an epoch of strife. It operates with the supreme efficiency of supreme simplicity. "The quarrels of men," says Mr. Balfour, "are not due to the fact that mankind are bad, but to the fact that mankind are ignorant." But ignorance is not compatible with collaboration, and, as a whole, men are not obstinate enough to remain ignorant of their comrades in the work of self-government. The grant of self-government is destroying the mutual suspicion of South Africans, because it is dispelling their mutual ignorance by making them co-partners and colleagues. Moreover, it has already made itself felt in the outer world. In expounding the great decision of the Imperial

Government, Mr. Churchill did not shrink from expressing the hope that the example thus set might be followed elsewhere. Since then Parliaments have been re-established in Russia and in Turkey; in Germany, in China, and in Persia the encroaching cause of Parliamentary Government is making itself felt; the Congo has been transferred from the control of a King to the control of a Parliament; in India and in Egypt the Government is becoming more representative. Altogether, there has been a marked revival of Parliamentary ideals, and in place of the discouragement which appeared to be coming over the world some years ago, it is growing clear that Parliamentary institutions are defective instruments of government only in the hands of those who are incapable of using them.

As it learns the extent of its fortune as the beneficiary of the English example, the world will pardon the pride of citizens of the British Empire who exult in the contemplation of the part their country has played, and is still playing, in the propagation of the healing plant of freedom. "There are States," so Prince Bülow declares, "which are strong enough, to their own advantage, to do without a futile and petty prestige policy." To States which have this strength more strength is added,

and it is a strength which has this advantage, that it evokes no bitterness and creates no rankling sense of wrong, and no lurking passion for revenge. It appears in its most uncompromising form in British Colonial policy when it disarms discontent by trust and uproots it by giving it freedom and responsibility. And it is precisely in this form that it reaps its richest reward. The impartial spectator is forced to acknowledge that of all the factors which have contributed to the pacific development of the British Empire the most potent is the political and economic liberty insured by its system of institutions. One such spectator, before the grant of self-government to the new Colonies, anticipated the possibility that "the Imperial Government will conciliate the confidence of the Boers by scrupulous respect for their manners, language, and religion, as it has contrived to engage the affection of the French Canadians, who to-day have become the firmest supports of English power in America." It has done this by one stroke of policy, by one display of that supreme strength which shows itself in forbearance and manly confidence. Once again the reward is not kept back, and the first rich instalment is already paid.

The first fruit of the establishment of complete

self-government in South Africa is the definite settlement of the South African question. There is no question known as the Canadian or the Australian or the English question. This phrase is reserved for countries whose whole status is in doubt. For a hundred years the South African question has perplexed and harassed English statesmen. To-day that question does not exist except for historians and antiquaries. So far from needing protection against the Boer people as a symbol of domination and ascendancy, the British flag commands their consent as the emblem of freedom and union, while racial animosities are forgotten in the spirit of comradeship engendered by a great and united endeavour to elaborate institutions adequate to the patriotic ideals which all South Africans share.

The full reward of British policy will come later, and will increase with the years, as there grows up in the stimulating air that breathes upon South Africa's rugged breast a hardy people, united and strong enough to grapple with its problems and to tame every part of the land for their service, owning no other home and with every heart enamoured of the bold and varied witcheries of their imperious mother-country, but looking over the seas to England with eyes of devoted gratitude

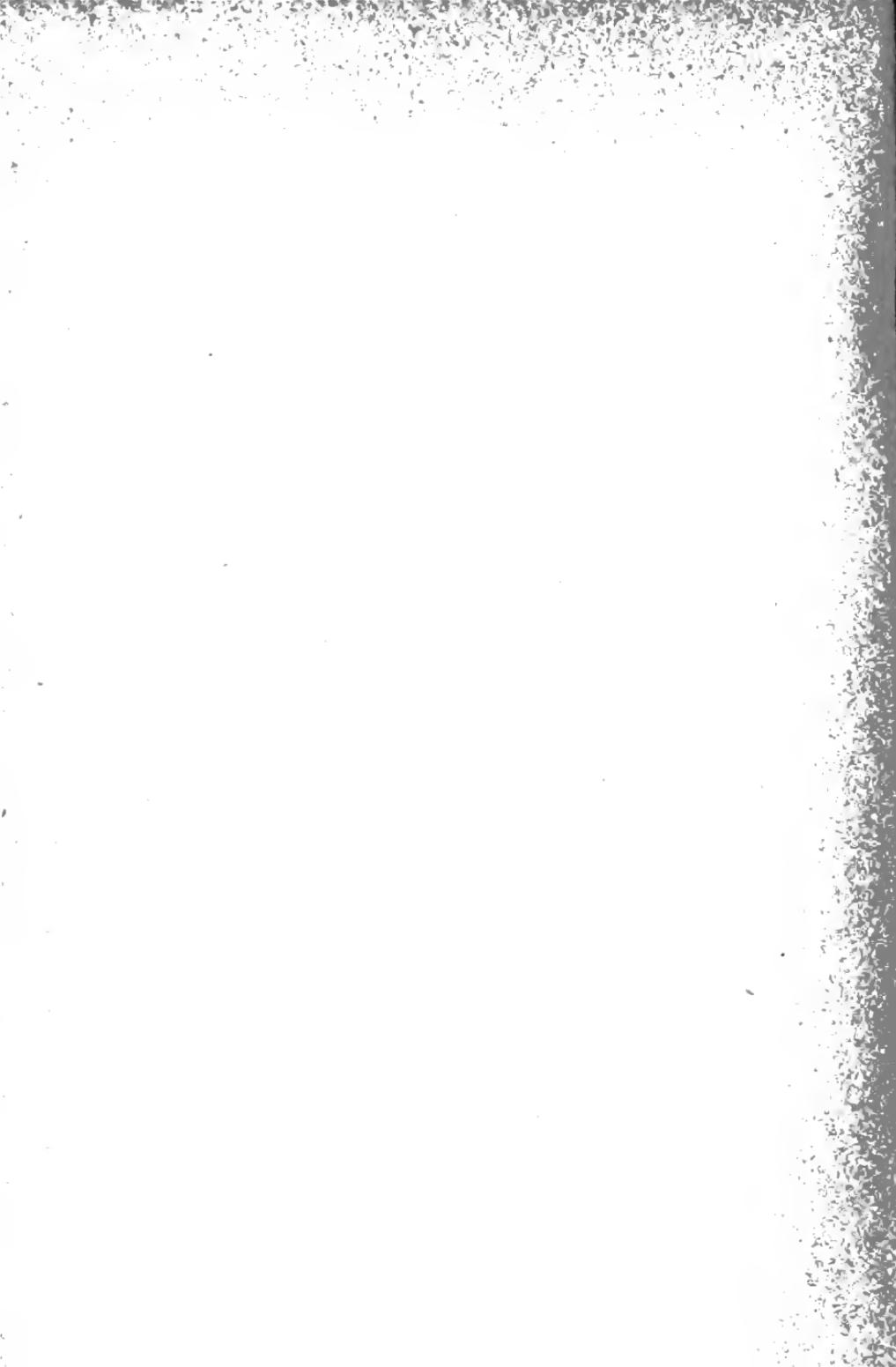
and sympathy. Then, at last, will justice be done to the men who have made possible this great consummation, and, not least, to those who worked many years ago for South African freedom and union, but only lived to see their counsel set aside, men such as Sir George Grey and Sir Henry Barkly, whose far-seeing sagacity has won them an immortal place in the temple of South African worthies.

Apart from living statesmen, the chief authorities I have consulted have been the official Blue Books, the Votes and Proceedings of the Imperial and Cape Parliaments, and the reports of debates ; "The Frame-Work of Union," "The Government of South Africa," and the various publications of the Closer Union Societies in South Africa ; the biographies of Sir John Molteno, Sir John Robinson, Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere, Bishop Colenso, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hugh Childers, and the writings and letters of Lord Carnarvon, Lord Blachford, and General Cathcart. I am also under obligation to many general publicists, notably M. Speyer, author of "La Constitution Juridique de L'Empire Colonial Britannique," and to Mr. P. A. Molteno, M.P., author of "A Federal South Africa" (1896) and the "Life of Sir John Molteno"; and I have found

much profit in the study of the constitutions and records of other countries which have had to deal with the problems of national consolidation, especially Canada, Australia, and the United States. But this volume makes no pretence to historical or legal erudition. It is based mainly on experience and study of contemporary events, and I have learned most of all first from my pupils at the South African College, and afterwards from my constituents in town and country at Uitenhage, to whom I owe an infinite debt for their much-tried kindness and constancy, and, above all, for helping me in my efforts to interpret South Africa with sympathy and justice.

H. E. S. FREMANTLE.

February, 1909.



# THE NEW NATION

## CHAPTER I

### THE CASE FOR UNION

FREEMAN, in his History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy, remarks that disunion seems stamped upon the soil of Switzerland by the very hand of Nature. "Every valley seems to ask for its own separate Commonwealth." It is not less true that union is stamped on the soil of South Africa, and that every element of Nature seems to deride our political separatism. The several Colonies of Australia look outward in different directions; South Africa inward to a centre not less productive than the circumference. Apart from politics, South Africans have always felt and assumed the unity of their country, and acted on the assumption. No more local name has ever been able to maintain a serious competition with the name of South Africa as the national designa-

tion of any of them. Their chief churches in the several States are already federated or united. Their agricultural, commercial, and municipal congresses represent the whole country. Even before the war there were Customs and railway conventions, which formed between different Colonies and States unions perfectly natural, but juridically anomalous. Since the war practical necessities have forced the various Governments to hold conferences, some of them periodic, not only about Customs and railway matters, but also about defence, education, estate duties, appellate jurisdiction, immigration, public health, stock diseases and other agricultural questions. It must be abundantly evident to all that there is a natural instinct for union in South Africa.

President Roosevelt has said that the chief reason that led to union in the United States was the sense of the necessity of national rather than State control over inter-State and foreign commerce. In South Africa many reasons have been put forward for union. In introducing his Bill providing for the Federation of South Africa in 1877, Lord Carnarvon said that there was a general feeling in South Africa that it was desirable to establish uniformity in regard to police, the sale of arms and spirits, industrial education, and, in

fact, "many of the primary and most important elements of a common government." He himself commended the project of union on the ground that it must add strength to South Africa, give its people larger objects, a higher policy, a wider political life, and offer better security for the right treatment of the native races. Five years earlier, in recommending South African union to the Cape Parliament, Sir Henry Barkly, then Governor of the Cape, spoke of "the benefits which would accrue therefrom in respect of uniformity of legislation, simplification of legal procedure, facilitation of postal and telegraphic communication, as well as of the construction of bridges, railways, and other public works." Earlier still, Sir George Grey insisted that union was essential to peace and prosperity, and that disunion was alike unnatural and dangerous.

Almost all the arguments which have been put forward in favour of federation since the question was first raised in 1854 have force in them to-day, but the driving power behind the movement for union is attributable to three general arguments, which are now familiar to all South Africans, but which may be briefly stated and illustrated afresh here. South Africa requires unity—first, because the absence of a general authority is a constant

inconvenience ; secondly, because without such an authority there is serious danger that certain urgent questions will end in a violent rupture between the different Colonies ; and, thirdly, because the national aspirations of the people demand a body of institutions corresponding to them.

The absence of a general authority is a constant inconvenience. Only the other day the experience of practical requirements brought together at Pretoria a Veterinary Congress, attended by representatives of all the Colonies of British South Africa, of German South-West Africa, of the Portuguese province of Mozambique, of the French Colony of Madagascar, and of the Belgian Colony of the Congo. This congress made plain the greatness of the common interest of certain stock diseases to the whole of the vast territories named. In particular, it was decided that the whole of British South Africa ought to assist Natal in stamping out the pestilent cattle disease known as East Coast fever. But British South Africa has no common fund and no federal authority, and it is only by the clumsy and erratic process of conferences that such a matter of urgent common interest can be arranged.

Again, in the details of railway management, the treatment of the staff, the rates and fares, the

concessions, the classification of goods, and countless engineering and financial technicalities, great inconvenience is occasioned by divergency of system, quite apart from the question of inter-colonial rivalries or competition. It is not necessary to multiply instances. In almost every department of administration the serious inconvenience of disunion is felt. In some cases this has resulted in attempts to forestall political union. For instance, there is a South African University, on the governing board of which all the four South African Colonies are represented. But the result of this is that University reform is almost impossible, because the University is a federal institution and there is no federal legislature to deal with the question.

Every attempt of this kind only displays the impotence and inadequacy of arrangements made by intermittent conferences, which have ceased to exist before criticism of their work can begin, and which no one has any desire to call together oftener than necessary. But it must be obvious at a glance that a country having common interests is certain to suffer grave inconvenience if it has no common authority ; and if there is anyone to whom this is not immediately obvious, there is abundant evidence to prove it in the case of South Africa.

Without such an authority there is serious danger that certain urgent questions will end in a violent rupture between the various Colonies. At present the Customs tariff is framed by occasional conventions nominated for the purpose. The different Parliaments accept or reject, but cannot amend, for none of them represents all the parties concerned. There is no way of securing amendment except by convoking a fresh convention. The members of the convention are not chosen directly by the electorate; nor do they debate in public. The interests and opinions of different localities and individuals as regards the tariff are violently antagonistic, and between these the tariff itself forms a feeble compromise, devoid of principle and settled by adjustments which the public cannot understand, and the reasons for which can only be conjectured. The result is universal dissatisfaction, approaching despair as it becomes more and more apparent that all the ordinary avenues of healthy reform are blocked and guarded by the dispiriting necessity of deciding questions of first-rate public importance in the dark. Forces which make for Free Trade and forces which make for high tariffs cannot indefinitely be leashed together in this way, and recently it has become almost impossible to prevent their going

each its own way, and adding to the troubles of South Africa the menace and the ignominy of inter-colonial Customs Houses.

Even more serious is the question of railway rates from competing ports. Four ports, two Colonies, and one foreign State wrangle for the carrying trade of Johannesburg. Most of the combatants also have an eye to the trade of the Orange River Colony and Rhodesia. The people of Kimberley, which by a dexterous piece of negotiation has been kept outside the zone of competition, complain that they have to pay far more for the carriage of goods from the coast than people whose goods may travel by the same route past their doors and on to Johannesburg. These disputes are of great moment both to the people and to the various Governments which control the railways. To prevent a war of rates, more conferences have to be called together, and as often as not peace is made over the prostrate and undefended body of the consumer, who being only a producer in another aspect cannot be injured without detriment to the productive powers of the whole country.

When railways are built in South Africa all the Colonies enter into negotiations about the rates to be charged when the nascent lines are com-

pleted. When the lines are ready it is sometimes found that some important rate questions have been forgotten, and accordingly one party steals a march on another; if not, there is the question whether undertakings given on the turning of the first sod on the railway track are binding for ever, and supposing that none of these points arises to create disputes and recriminations, it is always possible that at any moment the shipping companies may upset the carefully adjusted balance of trade between the different ports by giving a turn to the freight rates by a stroke of the pen in some London office.

The problems of railway management in England are not greater than in South Africa; the directors and officials are not less competent; it is infinitely easier to negotiate on behalf of shareholders whose interest lies in silence, than on behalf of Parliaments, whose business is debate. Yet in England the most experienced railway men are coming to regard the amalgamation of the railways as a necessity. How much more is it a necessity in South Africa! In 1895 the question of the rates on rival railways brought the country within measurable distance of armed conflict. It is only a little time since the Government of one Colony embarked on a war of rates, and pro-

claimed a *Jehad* against a sister-colony. More than once a rates war has only been averted by the energetic intervention of the inland Colonies.

So uncertain and slippery is the position that Lord Selborne had only been in the country a few months before he recognised the urgent necessity of amalgamating the railways, and in his despatch on closer union, written in 1907, he insisted on the same point in the language of emphatic conviction. The experience of the Customs Convention does not lend attractiveness to proposals for pooling the railways without at the same time creating a Parliament representing all the Colonies which own them, and when Lord Selborne suggested a mere railway union in 1905 the proposal met with a very lukewarm reception. Thus the solving of the railway problem in South Africa drives us to the recognition of the urgent practical necessity of union, and forces us to see it not through a glass darkly, but face to face.

The national aspirations of the people demand a body of institutions corresponding to them. This is no vulgar adoration of gross figures and dimensions. When Froude was in South Africa he urged federation on the ground that "small States make small men," and that "the greater the country, the greater the statesmen." The contrary

statement would hardly be more reckless. Certainly the world as a whole is not conscious of owing more to ancient Persia or modern China than to ancient Greece, or republican Rome, or Palestine, or Elizabethan England, or the Holland which shook off the Spanish giant's yoke. Nor does South Africa hold with Froude, for it believes that the history of the little Free State is more precious than the vast emptiness of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and cherishes the memory of certain small bands of pioneers in the eastern province of the Cape Colony, in Natal, in the old republics, and in Rhodesia, more fondly than the records which contain the swollen statistics of the population of New Rush before it was pruned down into the Kimberley of to-day.

But perhaps, if we must have a generalism, we might venture on the assertion that small questions make small men, and as a rule, and in the long run, the greater the question the greater the statesmen. Certainly the great questions of South Africa cannot be dealt with piece-meal ; nor can there be any greater question than that of devising institutions to fit the character of a people so strong, so diversified already, and so big with promise of varied development in the future as the people of South Africa. It is the essential unity of the people—

a unity only enriched by diversity—that creates the necessity of institutions to express it and serve its purposes. As the people grows into a nation it reaches out its hands for national institutions. The task of framing such institutions cannot fail to test, challenge, and evoke the rarest qualities of statesmanship, inspired by the deep consciousness of a national mandate. The task of working them must bring together talents hitherto scattered among separate Colonies, and so bind the country together by the powerful ties which make themselves felt when the most influential men from every part of the country are associated in the common work of shaping the destinies of the whole.

However, arguments of this kind, cogent as they are, hardly account for the determination and energy with which the machinery of union is being constructed and brought into operation. South Africa has not in the past been habitually guilty of precipitation, and Olive Schreiner has charged some of the advocates of union with "a most un-South African haste." The same charge was brought against Lord Carnarvon more than thirty years ago. At that time the spokesman of the Government in the House of Commons declared that the reason for haste was the growing power

of the Kafirs and the paramount necessities of union for defence. Is there a more substantial and less imaginary reason now? South Africa is not threatened by any external foe; profound peace reigns within its borders; the relations between English and Dutch, and between white and black, are better than they have ever been before. Why, then, this haste to accomplish so great a task?

The answer is twofold. First, the pinch of poverty is acutely felt in every Colony in South Africa, and in three out of the four treasuries. Rightly or wrongly, it is believed that union will ease the financial position, and the country is being driven forward by opportune poverty. Secondly, South Africa now has its chance. More than once before the cup which seemed to be approaching its lips was dashed away. Past disappointment, present occasion, the uncertainty of the future, all these command haste—not, indeed, the haste which glosses over pitfalls calling out for more thorough methods of treatment, but the haste which leaves for to-morrow the things of to-morrow, and counting to-day's task as sufficient, sets about it with the resolution of men who know that, little as we can foresee it, the night may be coming when no man can work.

For these reasons South Africa is set on union, and union this year. The geographical limits of this union are clearly defined. Two provinces of South Africa, in the largest sense of that name, are separated from the rest, the one under the German, the other under the Portuguese flag. With both British South Africa is associated in several ways. The native troubles of the Germans have been brought to a conclusion by the remarkable gallantry and resolution of small detachments of Cape Police. The Transvaal mines provide employment for large numbers of natives from Mozambique. There are also stock diseases which are common property, and the port of Delagoa Bay is often said to be the natural port of the Rand. In the future there may be more matters of common concern. But at present there is not much to act as a living reminder to South Africa of its sincere regret that circumstances now preclude the possibility of including these two provinces in the union.

As regards the north the case is different. Some are able to rouse themselves to enthusiasm over the prospect of including in the union various tropical provinces north of the Zambesi. Since South Africa promises to provide a home for a great white race, the attrac-

tiveness of this proposition seems questionable. Fortunately it must remain for the future to decide. Meanwhile, Southern Rhodesia is naturally part of South Africa. After the war it was suggested that the Chartered Company should be expropriated by funds to be derived by the Imperial Government from the Transvaal. The gold mining industry of Rhodesia is large and progressive. Its hopes of agricultural development are considerable. It already has a certain measure of representative government. Strong expressions in favour of union with the rest of South Africa have been uttered by the administrator and some of the representatives of the Chartered Company and the people; and the general sympathy which holds South Africa together does not stop short at the southern border of Rhodesia. Altogether it is permissible both to hope and to believe that the time is approaching when the relations between the Chartered Company and the people will be adjusted in such a way that Southern Rhodesia will be able definitely to take its place as part of the self-governing union of South Africa.

## CHAPTER II

### THE COMPOSITION OF THE NATION

WE read that on the evening of the day in which He made man, God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good. No doubt, to the eye of Providence all the races of men were already present in embryo, and over them all this startling judgment was pronounced—among them the South African Dutchman, the South African Englishman, and the South African native. It was never less difficult than it is to-day to perceive the justice of that hopeful verdict.

We will look at the Dutchman first, because he stands first, to quote the Aristotelian phrase, alike in the order of nature, of logic, and of time. The present generation has seen the Dutchman of South Africa definitely take his place among the recognised actors in the drama of the world's

history, but he is still very little known. Even now he is concealed, often from his own neighbours in South Africa, by the veil of his characteristic peculiarities of language and tradition, through which only the patient eye of sympathy can penetrate to the natural man behind.

There is little or no literature to assist in the search for the real Dutchman, for from the first he has been too busy in establishing himself in South Africa to do much writing. Nevertheless the literature of the Dutch in South Africa is not to be despised, nor is it despised except by those who do not know it. Some of it, no doubt, is crude, and some is artificial, but some of the songs are instinct with animation and force, and some of the topical writings of Mr. Melt Brink and others, both in prose and in verse, are rich in genuine local colour, and in the distinctive patriotism, pathos, and humour of South Africa. For example, no one can read Mr. Cachet's "*Sewe Duivels*" without owning its power, and feeling that, if literature is a mirror of human nature, this book must surely be counted deserving of a place among the classics of young nations. Still, such writings do little to make the Dutchman better known, for the language in which they are written puts them out of the reach of almost all but those who know him

already ; and they cannot illuminate the darkness, because they are separated from it by an opaque partition.

Even in South Africa the Dutchman is still a mystery to many of the English. They see occasionally some large-limbed farmer appearing in their streets, and recognise that he is not exactly as they are ; probably he speaks English, and does his business with them, and perhaps talks with them, and seems, more or less, to enter into their lives, but they feel throughout that his heart is in a world which they do not know, that his thoughts are not their thoughts, and that after all they do not really understand him. Even the Dutchman who lives among them sometimes leaves them with the sense that besides the interests which they share he has other interests which keep them aloof. In short, they are tempted to feel that, however much they would wish to have it otherwise, there are in South Africa two peoples and not one people.

But if the Dutchman is unknown to some of his neighbours, how much more must he seem a stranger when he appears, as he does from time to time, usually in moments of excitement and public passion, on the larger stage, where he comes before the eyes of the world ! Yet in reality he is

a child of nature, and of his own circumstances and history, and it is only because those circumstances and that history have been in the making when South Africa was a secret to mankind at large that the simplicity of the Dutchman sometimes baffles the curious observer who has not learned to take account of these facts.

The South African Dutchman is generally known by two names, of which he himself uses neither as a national or racial title. The name which he uses to describe himself is rapidly becoming more and more erroneous, if meant to apply exclusively to him, and accordingly he is beginning to give it a wider interpretation. The result is that he now has no name at all to describe his race.

He is generally known as a Boer or a Dutchman. "Boer" is the Dutch for "farmer," and in South Africa no one would ever call himself a Boer unless he happened to be a farmer. Moreover, there are many Englishmen whom the Dutch South African would always call Boers. The word, therefore, has no racial significance in the language to which it belongs. There being no name for the Dutch-speaking people, we are sometimes compelled, in order to avoid awkward circumlocutions, to use the word Dutchman, but the South African Dutchman never under any circumstances calls himself a

Dutchman. He has a word to describe the Dutchman of Holland, but he would no more think of applying this to himself than of appropriating any other national name, for he has not the least sense of unity with the Dutchman of Holland, except sometimes when he is highly educated, and has begun to have a fancy for theories. He calls himself an Afrikaander, that is a South African, but he applies the word also to people of English origin who have been born in the country, and sometimes to people whose birthplace was elsewhere, but who have become permanent residents in South Africa. Even this name therefore lacks distinctive meaning, and it is coming to be considered that the person known to the world as the South African Boer or Dutchman is only to be described as "a Dutch-speaking South African." Greater brevity entails less propriety, and also a real risk of gratuitously wounding susceptibilities which deserve respect. If in these pages a shorter term is sometimes used perhaps this statement of the facts will be taken as a sufficient apology.

The South African of Dutch speech is not always Dutch—he may have nothing but French, or German, or Scandinavian, or even Polish blood in his veins, and sometimes enquiry proves him to be more than half English or Scotch—nor is he

always a Boer, or farmer, although the purely Dutch farmer is the foundation of the race, if such it can be called. He has two essential characteristics—the first, that he cares for South Africa as his mother country, the second, that he cares for Dutch as his mother tongue. This is the old white population of South Africa, which, having been established in the country for more than a century and a half before the English element began to enter it, has a certain solidarity peculiar to itself.

There is one further fact which has to be borne in mind. The South African farmer is the owner of the land on which he lives. He may be poor, or he may be rich. In any case he has no one above him in rank. In this respect it would be erroneous to compare him with the yeoman of England in former generations. If in some respects he corresponds to the English farmer and to the English yeoman he no less corresponds to the English squire, whom indeed he resembles in many essential particulars. There is now growing up a considerable class of landless men, who in the country are called *bijwoners*, and correspond to none of the ranks in the hierarchy of the English country, so that this title does not admit of an English translation. There-

is also a large and growing number of the Dutch-speaking people in the towns. But the outstanding and characteristic figure is still the farmer who owns the land he cultivates, and in him are writ large the marks which distinguish the whole people as far as they can be distinguished at all.

National characteristics are not easy to define. When men characterise their own race they usually ascribe to it all the virtues which are not unamiable, and having then confessed, on its behalf, to some of the more attractive vices, lay claim to impartiality. On the other hand, when animated by prejudice against a race they produce a list of vices of which every country affords specimens, and some of which beset the whole of mankind, and leave a black picture composed entirely of truths tortured into mendacity. Indictments of this kind have been drawn up against the South African Dutchman, usually by persons who have had a very narrowly limited experience of him, and before whose unfriendly gaze he has, as is his wont in the presence of unsympathetic strangers, retired upon himself and interposed the barrier of proud and inscrutable reserve. But it is not such experience that gives any real knowledge of the Dutch. That knowledge can only be

obtained by close and constant experience of them in different capacities ; by moving freely among them ; by staying often in their homes ; by coming on them unexpected ; by being up and down among them in their ordinary business ; by seeing them stirred by various and profound emotions ; by being admitted to be present at the most sacred scenes of their lives ; by learning to anticipate their thoughts and actions, and, while not necessarily agreeing with them always, by feeling the force and directness with which these simple and manly people appeal to every chivalrous instinct.

It is not the opinion of men who have this knowledge that the Dutchman is, as he is sometimes alleged to be, less truthful than other men, nor less capable of reverence, nor more sullen, nor more disposed to surrender his judgment to his minister or anyone else, nor more selfish in his political aims, nor more suspicious of new-comers or of new methods, nor less considerate in his treatment of natives. There are poor, ignorant, and depraved people among the Dutch as among others. In the ignorant section of the Dutch people proper methods of caring for infants and of training children are neglected ; mutual suspicion is rife ; intrigue is relished for its own sake ; the instinct of honour and fair play is not highly

developed ; strength occasionally degenerates into brutality. Another section, considering itself enlightened, tends to fall a prey to drink, and is indifferent to principles of any kind. There are also some who think, with Mr. Theron, the late Chairman of the Afrikaander Bond, that there is a growing tendency to lean more on Government, and to be less self-reliant. But after all, is there any people in the world of which all this cannot fairly be said? Surely these vices and faults are not the property of the Dutch, but failings general among mankind.

If the Dutch-speaking people have characteristic faults, they are of a very different kind. They are slow to move, and not therefore apt to take the initiative in great causes, though when once roused they do not lightly relinquish their purpose. They are slow to speak, though many of them are natural orators, and thus too often allow judgment to go against them by default, or unwittingly mislead those who assume that silence implies assent. They are lovers of compromise and of peace, and as a result they have often failed to recognise essential antagonism of principle, and lent their trust too lightly to men unworthy of it, and having in due course been betrayed, blamed the fickleness of men instead of their own easiness. Resenting

interference on the part of others they are themselves reluctant to interfere, and tend too much to let nature and man go their own way. On the whole it may be said that they are the reverse of Englishmen, for they are prone to offend, not in doing and saying what they ought not to do and say, but in leaving undone and unsaid what they ought to do and say.

On the other hand there never was a manlier race. Their fathers were not afraid of isolation in unknown lands, which they tamed to the use of man, wrestling unaided with nature, and defending themselves at the same time against the attacks of wild beasts and savage men, undaunted by the scantiness of their supplies, and their remoteness from the possibility of assistance. The wives of the pioneers were of a not less dauntless spirit, and to-day their sons and daughters are the same, as every test hitherto has shown, and any further test would show afresh. Drawn together by mutual reliance, they hold up the sanctity of the ties of family life; they maintain undimmed a simple religious faith; naturally self-supporting and strongly individualistic, they nevertheless pay the greatest respect to authority which they have once recognised as established, and are exceptionally governable and orderly; they love their country

with an intensity which makes them ready at its call to offer up without flinching even the supreme sacrifice of Abraham; accustomed to direct and to command, they have that high sense of dignity and of responsibility which is the first requisite of statesmanship; habituated to the slow and sleepless work of nature, they possess an almost inexhaustible patience, and so long as they are assured that the right seed has been rightly sown, are content to leave the harvest until it ripens in its due season. It is no shame to cherish esteem for a people with national qualities of this order.

Nor is this all. They are as handy as sailors, and indeed sometimes regard resourcefulness as the first characteristic of a true South African. They are also exceedingly thrifty, so that they can live in a country which other Teutonic peoples would discard as uninhabitable. Among themselves their habits are democratic; indeed one of them, an educated and able gentleman, once complained to me of this, saying that in his opinion the people's progress is retarded by the custom which freely admits the poorest relations to the homes of their prosperous kinsmen. The whole people has an extraordinary respect for learning, and a craving for education as intense as that of the Scots. Some show a tendency to an assertive and

undiscriminating belief in the superiority of the human and other products of the country ; at least as many others deprecate themselves unnecessarily, being more alive to the value of the higher education they lack than to that of the sterling qualities they possess. To real sympathy they quickly open their hearts, and when once they give their trust they give it without stint. The discipline of their homes is generally strict, but it is a sheer mistake to regard them as dour or taciturn ; on the contrary among themselves they are, as a rule, gay and light-hearted, and not easily oppressed with care. By the simple and unassuming grandeur of their character at its best they have stolen the hearts of many Englishmen. Lord Carnarvon, for example, when he saw something of them in 1888, at once recognised their great and charming qualities. In a paper which he wrote on his return to England he recorded his admiration for them as a people, and particularly for their grave decorum. "England," he said, "if well advised in her policy, may, I feel sure, look with confidence to the true and loyal support of the able and eminent leaders of Dutch opinion at the Cape."

To the somewhat passive power of the Dutch-speaking people the enterprising and aggressive

qualities of the Englishman are a natural, a healthy, and at times an amusing complement. He also has no proper name. He is not an Englishman, for quite as often as not he is a Scot. He is not a Briton, for he may very probably be Irish. He or his father came from the United Kingdom, which has not yet elaborated a name to designate the whole of its people. So once more we must content ourselves with a circumlocution if our aim is propriety, and an impropriety if our aim is brevity. We can with propriety speak of the English-speaking people of South Africa. Briefly, and not without an inward sense of shame, we sometimes speak of them as Englishmen. Indeed such are the unhappy exigencies of language that the Englishman is almost forced to call his neighbour a Dutchman in spite of his protests, and the Dutchman is equally constrained to call his neighbour an Englishman, though perhaps everyone of his male ancestors wore kilts or pursued the cult of the shamrock.

The Englishman is the same all the world over, and he is far too well known a figure to need anything like an introduction. But it is essential to remember that, though there are a good many English farmers in the country, the characteristic Englishman of South Africa lives in a town. His

faults are the obverse of his virtues. His restless energy and instinct for adventure lead him at times into questionable enterprises, and make him at his worst as unattractive a figure as anyone else, and doing little credit to his race. Sir George Clerk, the Special Commissioner sent out by the Duke of Newcastle in 1853 to get rid of what is now the Orange River Colony, drew a lurid picture of what he found there, and his report was confirmed, both in public despatches and in caustic private letters by General Cathcart, the gallant English gentleman who was then Governor of the Cape. Speaking of the Dutch, Sir George Clerk said: "Nor is it with complacency they view the presence of those of the British population whose sole purpose in coming here is to speculate in land sales. They live on terms of friendship with the few who reside among them, engaged in the same occupations, and evincing no disposition to over-reach them; but they feel that they were the pioneers who, having in a manner settled this country, waste as much of it still is, and must remain, owing to its sterility or their inertness or both, can perceive no advantage to themselves in the introduction of British energy, which, to their comprehension of what is passing there, aims at no permanent home or settled habits of life, but /

with the rare exceptions to which I have referred, is chiefly displayed as to farming in the purchase and sale of unseen lands, and as to trade in the continual importation of tons of bullet lead."

This picture would be a most gross libel of the English South Africans of to-day, most of whom are as firmly rooted in South Africa as the Dutch. Moreover, many who are still only regarding South Africa as an experiment and a venture are nevertheless excellent people. But it remains true up to the present time that the exuberant English spirit when it gets into wrong channels results in much dubious and unscrupulous speculation, the habit of treating the country merely as a place in which to make a fortune, and out of which, when this is done, to decamp, the sooner the better, not to mention a partiality for reckless gambling of every kind, and a contempt for every sort of religious or moral precept. These blots only disfigure a section of the English people, but it is a noisy and ostentatious section, and because it is so, and because its conduct is so well calculated to cause the deepest offence to the best of the Dutch, both in itself, and because it is always dragging down the weaker Dutchmen to its own level, these people are a grave menace to the reputation and standing of their whole race, which can only be

upheld by constantly reminding the Dutchman that, despite their vociferous outcries on the subject, they do not properly represent the real Englishman.

The real Englishman is, of course, one of the greatest figures in the world, which he has covered with proofs of his indomitable daring and force. In South Africa he supplies exactly what the Dutchman lacks. The one is slow, the other prompt and decisive; the one is cautious, the other adventurous; the one patient and persistent, the other impetuous and aggressive. English assertiveness, English quickness to resent injustice, the English passion for sport, for fair play, indeed the very loftiness of English intolerance, all these are assets which South Africa could very ill afford to part with. Wherever he goes the Englishman carries freedom about with him, not because he cares for any theoretical philandering after freedom, but because he is not accustomed to be interfered with except by his own consent, and will not brook any innovation in this respect. To the old American States the Englishman brought constitutions written not on paper, but in his own unyielding habits and temper. In South Africa he may sometimes be precipitate and wrong-headed, and being cooped up in the towns he may

in the past have failed to appreciate the essential Dutchman, and have allowed himself to brood over absurd suspicions; but essentially he is still the same as the Englishman who has made so much work for historians, and he is indispensably necessary in South Africa to assert its freedom, to be an attacking force on behalf of its ideals, and to give it impetus and motion.

To be sure, these pictures of the real Englishman and the real Dutchman are idealistic, but if they contain the truth of idealism they are truer than any pretentious realism, for after all idealism is but a realism deeper than that of the police-court and the gutter. A more important objection to them would be that no just portraits are possible because the characters to be portrayed are changing so rapidly as to make all portraiture fallacious, and blur the work of the most cunning kinematograph. Let us endeavour to make these pictures less statuesque and more dynamic.

The most important changes which are developing themselves in the characters of the two great sections of the white people of South Africa have been mentioned already. Without in either case losing anything that is essential, the Englishman in South Africa is becoming a South African, and the Dutchman is being modernised. As children

are born in the country their parents insensibly take root in it; as the regulation of the forces of production proceeds, the scramblers after fortune become fewer and less important, and their noise abates; as people learn to settle in the country, the natural influences assert themselves over them; and when the ears of the deaf are unstopped, there steals upon them from time to time the alluring call of rural life.

On the other hand, as the locomotive and the school-master penetrate into the back blocks; as the long arms of the Cape University, of Oxford and Cambridge, of Edinburgh and Dublin reach out over the land with undiscriminating fingers for the souls of young men and maidens; as experience establishes the naturalness of wedlock between the new science and the old manliness, endurance and patriotism, and indeed proves that these latter qualities cannot now survive apart from their new bride; and as inflexible economic necessities drive the children of many country people into the towns, attachment to manners and methods only suitable to the circumstances of an honourable past relinquishes its hold, and the virility which gave it its force transfers its support to the cause of a progress which

is careful to carry with it all the worthiness of the old heroic temper, and leave behind nothing but its worn out integuments, not even failing to store up the fond memory of things which have now lost their usefulness, but which in their day served well the high purposes of past generations.

Considering how large a proportion of the English population dates its settlement in South Africa from a time not earlier than the discovery of the diamond fields, that the old population had never been in close touch with the outer world until the railways began to spread, and that we still have among us the remnants of the generation before that of men like Mr. Merriman, who was in Parliament before the discovery of the diamond mines, and was the minister responsible for the railways when the first large scheme of railway construction was set on foot in South Africa—considering all this, the Englishman is surprisingly South African, and the Dutchman astonishingly modern.

Fortunately for South Africa there is no exclusively English, and no exclusively Dutch, province. In the Orange River Colony there are not very many English people, but there is a very old tradition of mutual good-will and forbearance. In Natal a profound and considerable change has

been made by the annexation, after the war, of the Dutch districts in the north. The improvement of methods of communication is rapidly tending to make the different sections of South Africa mutually acquainted. The result is that each is deeply influencing and affecting the other. "The vigour of freely-governed English Colonies is likely to draw new national character from the new scenes and circumstances in which it has to develop itself." The tendency, thus stated by Lord Norton forty years ago, is now operating vigorously in South Africa, and the best qualities of both the white races may be seen united in the best members of either, while misunderstandings founded on mutual ignorance are already shaking at their base. Intermarriage is frequent: it is said that twenty per cent. of the marriages registered in Johannesburg in the last Christmas week were unions between English and Dutch. Two years ago a team of South African footballers was touring in England. Some were English, some were Dutch. The team was noted for working together, and won golden opinions not only by its unusual persistence, but even more by its eminently honourable and sportsmanlike spirit, and by its singular good humour. South Africa is ready to show that this incident was no freak

of nature, but a true augury of its national destiny.

It would, of course, be foolish to expect that the slow transformations worked by natural causes can be expedited for the benefit of the present generation. South Africa will ripen slowly, and wise men will be content to believe that the ripening fruit is healthy, and that there is abundance of sun and sufficient rain. The two great agencies of development are the churches and education. Churches do not always lead, sometimes they are too apt to follow, and even to act as a drag on the wheel of genuine progress, and it might be well if the English churches in South Africa were more forward to insist on South African nationalism, and the Dutch churches to preach the necessity of keeping abreast of the onward-flowing tide of knowledge and thought. But there is much in the church life of South Africa for the eye of hope to feed upon. A gradual tendency to draw towards each other is slowly making itself felt among the different sects, not through any latitudinarian indifferentism, but because a common service tends to throw into relief central principles generally shared; and so, for instance, the various churches have managed to agree on a scheme of divinity degrees, for which the Cape

Parliament has readily made provision. For more than two hundred and fifty years the Dutch Church has used its utmost efforts to promote the spread of education, and the standard of education among its own ministers, already high, is constantly growing higher. The same upward tendency is evinced by the English churches as a whole. Altogether the churches of South Africa must be credited with doing much, and may be expected to do more and more, towards raising the people, and in this and other ways making fast the friendship now growing up between its different sections. The importance of education in carrying on this healing work is now plain to all. It was preached fifty years ago by Sir George Grey, of whose far-seeing bounty the Grey College at Bloemfontein is a noble monument. The progress of education is now assured, and already we can see enough to be confident that an educated South Africa will be a united South Africa.

But how is it, the reader may ask, that so little has been said of the Dutch language? We have already noticed the supreme importance of this point, the difference between English and Dutch in South Africa being far less a matter of race than of speech. But, if possible, it is well to leave this business to be decided when we have fully recog-

nised the natural tendency of the country itself to draw the races together, and the futility of strife. We can then trust ourselves to consider the question of the Dutch language calmly.

This is not the place to examine the character of the language minutely. Suffice it to say that it is more like the language of Holland than most English dialects are like the language of St. James', that, like English, it has shed most of the tiresome inflections which still clog more conservative languages, that it is singularly rich in expressive phrases, and that it is perfectly capable of being used as the vehicle of the most exact and the most exalted thought. The difference between the three sets of doctors who have strong opinions as to the propriety of insisting on certain particular forms and rules is not really important in its bearing on the general question. What is important is that half the white people of South Africa cling to Dutch as their mother tongue, and cling all the closer when they see that it is threatened or feel that it is despised. Considering the depth of their feeling for it, every Englishman with a spark of chivalry or gallantry must resent disparagement of what is so dear to the heart of his brother South Africans as promptly and vehemently as they.

But except for occasional rudenesses the language question may now almost be said to be out of the range of dispute. Every Dutchman recognises that it is to the interest of his children to know English, and does his best to secure that they shall know it. Most Englishmen recognise that it is to the interest of their children to know Dutch, and try to arrange for them to learn it. Last year a representative Select Committee of the Cape House of Assembly unanimously agreed to insert clauses in an Education Bill providing that from the earliest stages every English or Dutch child should learn both languages, and this recommendation aroused no hostile criticism. There may still be room to differ about the language question, but the main principle, already very widely acknowledged, is coming near the attainment of a place among the axioms, and the other points in dispute are not really serious. With mutual good-will the two sections will easily deal with this question; a bilingual South Africa will succeed a South Africa divided in its language, and the chief rampart which separates the people into two camps, and condemns both to the impotence of division, will be removed for ever. It was only by scrupulous respect for the language of the French habitants

that the wisdom of her statesmen consolidated Canada. In South Africa the language question is not more difficult, the solution not less obvious, the promised reward not less great. Educated, bilingual, and united, the white South African people of the next generation, schooled and disciplined as it will be by the long sustained effort of forbearance, by which alone it will have achieved its identity, will be well qualified to act wisely by those other elements of the population—the Malays, the natives, the coloured people—who rightly claim a part in the nationalism of South Africa. But this great matter belongs to a later chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### EXPANSION AND DISRUPTION

IN Peel's first ministry Mr. Gladstone was Under Secretary for the Colonies. He died the year before the outbreak of the South African War. During the whole of this period the South African question was the recurrent nightmare of British statesmen. In 1834, when the first Peel ministry quitted office, Lord Glenelg became Colonial Secretary, a name of bitter memory in South Africa. In 1845, at the end of the second Peel ministry, Mr. Gladstone was Colonial Secretary, and he was succeeded by Lord Grey, who gave the Cape its constitution. Speaking as Prime Minister in the House of Commons nearly forty years later, Mr. Gladstone summed up the experience of British statesmen in regard to South Africa as follows:—“It has been the one standing

difficulty of our Colonial policy which we have never been able to set right. In other parts of the world difficulties have arisen—in India, in Canada, in New Zealand—and every one has been dealt with and satisfactorily disposed of, but never in South Africa. It was my lot in the latter part of the administration of Sir Robert Peel to be Secretary of State, and I then told Lord Grey that the case of South Africa presented a problem of which I, for one, could not see the solution, and so it has continued from that day to this—difficulties always recurring, never healed." It is the purpose of this chapter and the next to trace the progress of this malignant growth ; of the rest, to explain the operation of the sovereign remedy which the bold physicians of empire have dared to apply.

Every country has its difficulties, but for the most part these are not alarming, attract little attention in the outer world, and in due course yield to treatment. The more fundamental South African difficulties of which Mr. Gladstone spoke are ascribed by common consent to disunion. It is not, however, sufficiently recognised that the mere existence of separate colonies and states is not in itself a serious difficulty. The root of the difficulty is a deeper disunion of sentiment, and the re-

sulting growth of states, separated not only by the artifices of political geography, but also by the more formidable barriers of national resentment. Without this territorial division need never have caused anxiety. With the removal of this the re-establishment of political unity follows without delay.

Self-government has been from first to last the real question at issue. It was the blind adoption of a policy contrary to what was just in the demands of the South African people that led to the disruption of South Africa, and the consequent collisions between its divided members. It is the final establishment of self-government that leads to the spontaneous generation of a National Union. Attempts to heal the disease of disunion without having resort to this medium have invariably failed. Only the decision to leave the people alone results in closing the breach which misguided interference caused, and which no interference could repair.

It would, however, be an injustice to suppose, as some do suppose, that the whole history of British statesmanship in South Africa since the middle of the nineteenth century is a series of blunders, or that when mistakes were made they were as palpable as they have since become.

Several Colonial Secretaries have done their utmost to quiet unrest, and to establish confidence by fostering and scrupulously respecting the struggling plant of self-government in South Africa. Had their policy been pursued with consistency and patience, South Africa might perhaps have dispensed with war a generation ago; but consistency and patience are rare virtues in men, and rarer yet in nations. Never was a steady and vigilant wisdom more required than after the establishment of the Cape Parliament in 1854; yet in the following year, owing to circumstances wholly unconnected with South Africa, five Colonial Secretaries passed through Downing Street in brisk procession. At other times Colonial Secretaries have held the seals and Under Colonial Secretaries the power. Nor are these the only clogs which hinder the progress of Imperial statesmanship. No doubt they are the incidents of the system of Parliamentary government, to which is also due all, or nearly all, the wisdom which has successfully dealt with great problems of the Empire, but they do not make for patience and consistency in national policy, and it is only just to remember them when in looking back over the past we note here and there the conspicuous absence of uniform design.

It is also right to remind ourselves that from the time of Sir George Grey no opportunity of effecting a final settlement by a single stroke of policy presented itself till after the peace made at Vereeniging in 1902. The spectacle of British South Africa enjoying unquestioned and complete self-government for a long period of years under the general protection of an Imperial power steadily resolved not to interfere in the domestic affairs of South Africa might in time have led to the voluntary accession of the Republics to the Union, but certainly this could not have been brought about in a single day, nor in a single year. Now, a single bold stroke has sufficed to cut the knot, but the present generation has little reason to upbraid past generations because they did not exhibit rare and difficult qualities which it has not been called upon to display, and did not seize an opportunity which was never open to them.

Nor would it be reasonable to despise the memory of an old school of statesmen because they had not acquired the lessons made obvious to us by later accumulations of experience. No one would now misunderstand the rights of self-governing Colonies as they were misunderstood a generation ago, but how many would understand them now if they had not the last generation's

experience to guide them? And who can estimate the value of the examples given by Canada and Australia alone in the last half century?

Finally, we must not let ourselves forget the circumstances of the past when we wonder how its foremost men failed to foresee or provide for the circumstances of a succeeding age. It is easy for us to define what we would have wished to find done for us by our ancestors, but it does not follow that it was possible for them either to foresee the advantage of doing it or to do it if they had recognised its advisability. For instance, it is often said that a great blunder was committed when the Orange Free State was made independent—a step on which all English parties were agreed—but it is seldom remembered by those who say this that a good deal happened in 1854 besides the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty. In March General Cathcart, then Governor of the Cape, wrote from Cape Town rejoicing that “**the foolish sovereignty farce is at length over, and we have done with it.**” In November he fell at Inkerman. The fact that England was engaged in a gigantic struggle in the Crimea must surely be remembered when judgment is given on her resolution to restrict her responsibilities in South Africa. All these

considerations must tend to temper our judgments on the history of the past with charity, and this conclusion should not be unwelcome, for it suggests the possibility of regarding Imperial policy as a plant which develops with circumstances and time, as experience fashions out of the calamities of the past the materials for an imperious warning against the repetition of its errors.

When the Batavian Government was in possession of the Cape at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the authorities, who tended to regard South Africa merely as a means and not at all as an end in itself, were concerned to find that there was a constant eastward movement among the people. This movement was quite spontaneous and natural, and it did not cease when the English Government was finally established at the Cape in 1806, by which time settlements in the Eastern province of the Cape Colony had already taken root, notably at Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage. The movement was mainly due to the simple facts that the land was not permanently occupied, and the settlers were attracted by it. Of the older inhabitants, the Bushmen were practically nomads, and the Hottentots had but a feeble hold on the soil of the country. Until the eastward movement of the Dutch brought them into conflict

with the westward movement of the Kafirs, they met with nothing like organised opposition. No doubt there are dark pages among the heroic annals of these pioneers. The question of right is not here under discussion. Right or wrong, the instinct for expansion had declared itself in the eighteenth century, and was bound to develop in the course of nature until sooner or later the whole of the country now known as the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal was occupied.

The movement was, however, expedited by discontent. The extreme political reaction in England which was one of the immediate results of the French wars was felt for nearly thirty years in South Africa, and when a reforming ministry came into power in England it made the emancipation of slaves the first great work of the reformed Parliament. It was natural enough that the sympathies of that Parliament and its immediate successor should be on the side of the Kafirs in South Africa, and it is not surprising that Lord Glenelg, who was Colonial Secretary from 1835 to 1839, turned a deaf ear to the representations of the Governor and people of the Cape Colony, and refused to sanction the annexation of territory inhabited by Kafirs, necessary as it was then

believed and afterwards proved to be for the maintenance of peace, and for the security of the settlers, both English and Dutch. That as between the Kafirs and the Boers there were wrongs on both sides cannot be disputed. That in regard both to the emancipation of the slaves and the arrangements on the frontier of Kaffraria less than justice was done to the South African Dutch by Lord Glenelg must now be admitted. The result was the great trek of 1836-40, when some ten thousand people left the Colony and moved northwards and eastwards in search of new homes. It is impossible now to go behind the sentence of the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who described the emigrants as "the flower of the frontier farmers," and as "a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people, the cultivators, the defenders, and the tax contributors of the colony."

In what is now Natal a few English settlers had established themselves in 1835. They asked for the recognition of their Colony, which they called Victoria, and they founded Durban. Their request was not granted, and shortly afterwards the Dutch pioneers appeared in the country. Their claim to independence was never admitted, and in 1842 Natal, which had been occupied by a British force in 1838, and vacated the following year, was

annexed to the Cape. In 1856 it became a separate Colony, and in 1893 it acquired full responsible government. Dispersed in Natal, the Boers who had established themselves there retired for the most part to what is now the Orange River Colony. This was annexed, not without a sharp struggle, in 1848, but six years later its independence was restored and it became the Orange Free State. Its history as an independent state, on the whole wonderfully peaceful and happy, was terminated by the war of 1899-1902. The Transvaal was declared independent in 1852, but it was not till 1864 that the people succeeded in establishing a Government exercising authority over the whole State. The story of the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, the restoration of its independence in 1881, and its varying fortunes from that date to the close of the great war which ended in the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902, need not be told here. It is sufficient to remember that from 1852 till 1902 republican flags were to be seen in South Africa, and that since 1856 the four chief States of South Africa have existed as separate communities.

Treaties were made by the British authorities with most of the important native chiefs—the Matabele, the Griquas, the Basutos, and the

Pondos—between 1834 and 1844. Ten years later these were for the most part denounced, but since then all the native territories have been brought under the sovereignty of Great Britain—Basutoland in 1868, Griqualand West in 1871, Bechuanaland in 1885, Zululand in 1887, Rhodesia in 1889, Amatongaland in 1895, and Swaziland (which had been ceded to the Transvaal in 1894) at the end of the great war, and the whole of Kaffraria between 1847 and 1894. Despite repeated representations from South Africa to the Colonial Office, Damaraland was left unclaimed until it was annexed by Germany in 1884, but Walfisch Bay was annexed in 1878, and the Guano Islands had already become a British possession in 1867. Both Walfisch Bay and the Guano Islands were united with the Cape. Apart from them there are in South Africa twelve territories with separate histories, provided we count the whole of Kaffraria as one. Since 1884 Basutoland, which was governed by the Cape from 1871 to 1884, has been under the direct control of the Imperial Government, and Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorates are in the same position. But Griqualand West was annexed to the Cape in 1880, British Bechuanaland in 1895, and Kaffraria between 1876 and 1894. Amatongaland was

added to Zululand in 1896, and both were united with Natal in the following year. There remain the four Colonies—the Cape, Natal, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal; the three protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland; and Rhodesia. These together fill the map of British South Africa as it is to-day.

All this expansion and development might have come about peaceably, and without any complications of flags or politics. Instead of this the natural progress was embittered by incessant disputes and wars, and the problem of consolidation, which would have presented no very formidable difficulties if the separate States had been formed as a result of orderly expansion, was almost indefinitely complicated by the development of separatist policies, traditions, and tempers. The pity of this is plain to all who contemplate the facts. "I think with regret," said Lord Carnarvon in 1877, "of these communities going out into the wilderness alienated from English feeling and policy, alienated, too, under the sense of injustice and wrong."

But what does this really mean? It is not that "English feeling and policy" ought to be eliminated from South Africa, or that the judgments of South Africans never need modification. Extreme

doctrines of this kind are sometimes put forward, but they will not commend themselves to calm reason. Nor on the other hand is it possible to maintain that English feeling and policy can with advantage to South Africa or to England be allowed to decide without check the course of events in South Africa. Between these opposing extremes there is a middle path which cannot be departed from without peril. After eliminating the violence of outrageous partizanship on either side, it will be found that the essential element in the sentiment which underlies the opinion of responsible men in South Africa is wholly just, and that the kernel of English policy is wholly reasonable. It may require patience to effect an adjustment between the two, but the effort is worth making, for without it wisdom is blindfold and wars with itself. Unfortunately for South Africa the Colonial policy of England seventy-five years ago was not what it is to-day. English policy was put forward by the highest authority in an unnecessarily extreme form; no effort was made to ascertain or attend to the responsible judgment of South Africans; their views were dismissed as merely unjust, and in consequence English policy was scouted in South Africa as essentially unreasonable. The result was that extreme views on each

side unconsciously gave each other momentum—a phenomenon which has been seen more than once in South Africa—and the final outcome of unreasonable insistence on English policy was that in half South Africa it was altogether eliminated. The natural unity of the South African people was thus disturbed by the artificial creation of unnecessary antipathies, and when these had once been aroused they found a good deal to sustain them in the rivalries of ports and the conflicts between the apparent interests of town and country. They were restrained by the natural gravity and moderation of the people, but it was evident from the first that the violence of disruption had thrown together all the materials necessary for a great conflagration, and that these could only be dispersed with safety by undoing the work of disintegration and re-establishing the political union which had been broken up as a result of unwise, inconsiderate, and unnecessary insistence on extreme views.

## CHAPTER IV

### ATTEMPTED REMEDIES

THE disease of disunion had no sooner attacked South Africa than the case was correctly diagnosed and the appropriate remedy prescribed. The Cape Parliament met for the first time in 1854, the same year as the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty, and two years after the Sand River Convention, which established the qualified independence of the Transvaal. In his address to the electors of Cape Town Mr. Saul Solomon, afterwards for many years one of the leaders of opinion in Parliament and in the country, declared in favour of union. From that time forward the question has never been entirely forgotten, but for some critical years, when union might without much difficulty have been effected, the preoccupations of England in the near and far East, and

afterwards in the West, made her stubborn against proposals which seemed to involve the possibility of new entanglements in South Africa. The Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, more than once recommended reunion, but his words fell on deaf ears in Downing Street, and no interest was taken in the question in the House of Commons.

In 1858 Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, afterwards Lord Lytton, became Colonial Secretary, with Lord Carnarvon as Under-Secretary. They were in office just over twelve months, during the latter part of which the Colonial Secretary was ill, and a good deal of power fell into the hands of the Under-Secretary, who was quite a young man and appears to have been less schooled than most of his contemporaries by the chastening contact with the world of men. In July Sir George Grey had written to Lord Stanley, Lytton's immediate predecessor, informing him that a petition was being signed in the Free State expressing the "earnest opinion that, unless this country called the Orange Free State is allied in federal union with our parent colony, it never will enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity." A month later the Governor informed Lytton that a memorandum had been presented to him by the people of Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free

State, asking him how the cause of federation could be promoted, to which he had replied that he could not take any action unless approached by the Government of the State. In September Lytton invited him to give his opinion on the question of effecting a permanent reduction in the Cape garrison, of uniting Kaffraria and Natal with the Cape, of separating the Eastern and Western provinces of the Cape Colony, and of establishing a federal union in the event of separating the two provinces. He raised these questions in a series of interrogations.

The last two were not the least interesting. "Are your opinions on these subjects in any way modified by consideration of the policy to be adopted towards the two free states? And what is the permanent line of policy which you would recommend towards those States, consistently always with the maintenance of public faith pledged by the existing treaties?" To these questions Grey replied in the eloquent despatch which has given him a place as one of the chief pioneers of the Closer Union movement, and which, despite vast changes of circumstance and some peculiarities in the despatch itself, must always rank among the classical texts of South African history. The essential unity of the South

African people and the progressive tendencies at work among them have never been more forcibly explained. The case for union as the solution of colonial, inter-colonial, and native troubles has seldom been presented with so much cogency. The importance of self-government could hardly be more insistently advocated. No doubt some of the questions which Grey proposed to solve by union have been solved without it, but at what cost! The natives as a whole are no longer distrustful of the white man's government, nor are they a public danger, but the settlement of this question, which the recent history of Natal shows to be not even yet quite complete, has been arrived at through a long series of bloody and expensive wars. The inland States now receive their full share of the customs duties collected at the coast, but they have been taught to use a foreign port as a lever for compelling the maritime colonies to do justice, and they have not succeeded in exacting their dues without nursing up a port and railway under another flag with energy and capital which might have been used to enrich and strengthen British South Africa.

Grey knew very well that the opportunity which presented itself in 1858 might not recur. He himself seems to have thought that the Free

Staters were opposed to the retrocession of 1854, but it is not easy to shake the evidence of his predecessor, General Cathcart, who, writing to Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1853, said: "You must not mind the open-mouthed clamour of the Cape Press about giving up the Sovereignty. . . . The Dutchman has no newspaper, and has not had time to open his mouth yet; but he is not of the same way of thinking." However this may be, Grey recognised that the excellence of his opportunity was largely due to circumstances not unlikely to change, for he said: "Recently there has been, from the difficulties which have prevailed in the country, a very general desire to see such a measure adopted as I have now proposed." Certainly there was no possibility of mistaking the opinion of the Free State in 1858. We have already referred to the petitioners who approached Grey on the subject, and to his reply that he could not move until approached by the Government. Before the end of the year the Volksraad passed a resolution declaring itself in unison with the large number of burghers who were "convinced that a union or alliance with the Cape Colony, either on the plan of federation or otherwise, is desirable," and requesting the President to correspond with the Governor of the Cape, suggesting the appoint-

ment of a joint Commission to draw up a scheme of union for the consideration of the Governments concerned. President Boshof duly communicated with the Governor, who, in his speech on the opening of the Cape Parliament in 1859, strongly urged the proposal of a joint commission; and added: "You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain, and upon the inhabitants of this Colony, if you could succeed in devising a form of federal union."

Sir Edward Lytton considered that Grey had acted contrary to his instructions. In reply to the despatch addressed to Lord Stanley, which has been already referred to, Lytton had directed him to inform all enquirers as to his intentions with regard to federation that he must await instructions from the Imperial Government, and Grey had received this reply before he answered President Boshof, and long before he made the speech to Parliament. Grey repudiated the charge of insubordination, which was, however, endorsed by Lytton's successor, the Duke of Newcastle, who was decidedly friendly to Grey, had appointed him in the first instance, and reinstated him when Lytton and Carnarvon had recalled him. But it is not necessary to examine the points of this dispute now. Before any dispute arose Lytton informed

Grey that, after weighing his arguments, Her Majesty's Government was "not prepared to depart from the settled policy of their predecessors by advising the resumption of British sovereignty in any shape over the Orange Free State." In this Newcastle fully concurred. Grey consented to resume the governorship on the distinct understanding that he was not to oppose the settled policy of both parties in England, and so ended the first attempt at reconsolidating South Africa.

It is true that the form of union is a matter of small importance compared to the main principle of union, but there are three special points in Grey's despatch which deserve particular notice. The first is that Grey was a determined advocate of federation as opposed to unification. He was the author of the federal constitution established in New Zealand in 1853. Nine years later, during his second period of office as Governor of New Zealand, the Province of Auckland expressed a desire to form a separate Colony. Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, was in favour of more concentration, and refused to grant the Auckland petition. This separatist agitation led to a movement for unification in New Zealand, but so much was this opposed to the views held by Grey, who had ceased to be Governor, but continued to live

in New Zealand, that he threw himself into Colonial politics. He became Prime Minister, but he was too late to avert the unification of 1875, and he was compelled to accept the new constitution. But the incident shows how much attached he was to the principle of federation, and his emphatic recommendation of the principles of the New Zealand constitution of 1853 as the model for South Africa must be borne in mind in considering the policy of the Colonial Office under Lord Carnarvon eighteen years later.

The second special point to be noticed in Grey's attempt to unite South Africa is that he suggested the passing of an Enabling Act through the British Parliament. He was careful to explain that whatever measures were taken in England should not go beyond the point of simply enabling the people of South Africa to form "a federal union such as their several interests would show them to be for the common good." Nor did he press for an Act. Still, he was the first to suggest an Enabling Act, and it was no doubt this suggestion that became the parent of Lord Carnarvon's Act of 1877.

The third point to observe is that Grey's proposals were shaped with the definite consciousness that they were expressly fitted to the circumstances of his time and to these alone. He was well aware

that the opportunity of union which offered itself in 1859 was exceptional. He attributed it to the temporary circumstances of the country, and when he received the despatch announcing the refusal of the Imperial Government to accede to his proposals he wrote: "I, however, much fear that the opportunity of establishing such a federation as I had proposed has now been lost for ever." If the present situation in South Africa proves that a marvellous destiny has averted the literal realisation of Grey's apprehension, it will not be forgotten that for fifty years there was no recurrence of the opportunity which was thrown away in 1859. Sir George Grey left South Africa in 1861.

His immediate successor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, became involved in the dispute between the Free State and the Basutos, and moreover was constantly engaged in a struggle with the Cape Parliament, which he finally attempted to emasculate by a Bill abolishing one house and strengthening the official element in the other, while the leading members of Parliament were working for full responsible government. He explained to Parliament that in his opinion a colony should properly be called a dependency, and that responsible government implied eventual separa-

tion and independence, since a ministry responsible to a Parliament representing colonial constituencies could not likewise be obedient to an Imperial Government. His Bill was rejected by the Cape Parliament, and his views on the effect of responsible government by the Secretary of State, Lord Granville, who, however, treated him with the greatest indulgence. But the policy which he pursued during the nine years of his governorship did much to break down the confidence which the more enlightened administration of Sir George Grey had built up. Indeed he was not careful of local susceptibilities. Once, when he paid a visit to a frontier town, much indignation was excited by the rumour that an address presented to him on the occasion by the local dignitaries was discovered on his departure in his waste paper basket. There were even some who watched with amused sympathy the symptoms of his whole-hearted indifference to public opinion. He himself, as he informed a friend, derived consolation from the reflection that at any rate he was exempt from the curse denounced against those of whom all men speak well.

From 1869 onwards the project of South African union has attracted general support in England. Sir Charles Adderley, who stood up alone in the

House of Commons to protest against the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, wrote in 1869: "A federation of districts under local government may, very probably, become ultimately the best arrangement for the whole of South Africa." In South Africa the agitation for Responsible Government at the Cape did much to advance the cause, and in 1871 a unanimous wish for federation was expressed at a banquet given to Sir Henry Barkly, the new Governor of the Cape, in Bloemfontein, the President of the Free State, Sir John Brand, being present. In the same year Sir John Molteno, the leader of the Responsible Government Party at the Cape, carried in the Legislative Assembly a motion in favour of responsible government, but was only able to do this by adding to it a rider declaring that federation was also desirable, and asking the Governor to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. This was suggested by members from the Eastern Province, where an agitation for separation from the Western Province had long enjoyed considerable vogue. Accordingly the Governor appointed a Commission. One of the commissioners, now Sir Henry de Villiers, has lived to act, thirty-seven years later, as the President of the National Convention, which has at last, in the years 1908 and 1909,

succeeded in framing the constitution of a United South Africa.

The work of the Commission in 1871 was only to consider the subdivision of the Cape Colony and the federal union of the new provinces, but in August Sir Henry Barkly, who had succeeded Sir Philip Wodehouse as Governor, wrote to the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, representing to him that, though the project of union with Natal and the Transvaal was looked on with much indifference, there was a strong feeling on the part of Cape Colonists in favour of union with the Free State; that Mr. Hamelberg, late a leading member of the Executive Council of the Free State, had told the Commission that, if self-government were established at the Cape, the main difficulty in the way of union would be removed; that Mr. De Villiers had made an authoritative statement to the same effect in Parliament; that circumstances had changed since 1859, and that it might be well for the Governor to have instructions in case he should be invited to re-open the question of union. The despatch concluded by suggesting that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, might consider whether to ask Parliament to pass an Enabling Bill, or to await the introduction of responsible

government, and the acceptance by the Cape Parliament of a definite scheme of union.

Lord Kimberley's reply marks the turning point of British policy. It expressed general concurrence in the Governor's views, and it authorised him to act in case the question should be raised. As regards procedure Kimberley did not favour an Enabling Act, but the passing by the Colonial Parliament of a resolution which could be embodied in a Bill to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. Nor was the Colonial Secretary isolated, for in 1872 the House of Commons unanimously, though somewhat languidly, declared that "it is desirable that facilities should be afforded by all methods which may be practicable for the confederation of the Colonies and States of South Africa."

But South Africa was no more in a mood to dance to the piping of England in 1872 than England was ready to respond to the music of South Africa in 1859. The Cape Commission produced a report which was not calculated to rouse enthusiasm, and did not touch on the relations of the Cape with other Colonies and States. The unfortunate effects of Sir Philip Wodehouse's administration were accentuated by the disputes with the Free State about the newly discovered

diamond fields; the sudden access of wealth removed many of the difficulties which had made the project of union popular in the Free State fourteen years before; the new responsible government in the Cape was preoccupied with the work of administration, and the development of the country's resources, and the entanglement of the question of union with the question of subdividing the Cape obscured the issue, and stopped progress.

Despite all the energetic recommendations of the Governor, no action was taken by the Cape Legislature on the report of the Federation Commission, and once again the question of union faded into the back-ground. It is difficult to say what might have happened if Lord Kimberley had remained in Downing Street. Both he and Barkly were convinced advocates of union, and pursued a sound policy with prudence and persistence. The first Prime Minister of the Cape, Sir John Molteno, enjoyed in a singular degree the confidence of the rural population. He was not favourable to federation, but believed that if the Cape prospered and enjoyed unchallenged freedom under responsible government the other States would gradually come to recognise the advantage of joining it. Whether this policy

would have succeeded, had it been allowed scope, will never be known. In 1874 Lord Kimberley quitted office, and was succeeded by Lord Carnarvon, whose appointment marks the end of a chapter containing much promise, and the beginning of a new one not richer in good intentions than in disasters.

It is not necessary to delay very long over the unhappy history of the period between 1874 and 1880. Carnarvon had had a large share in thwarting Grey in 1859, but, as we have seen, English opinion had veered round in the interval, and Carnarvon had no doubt been influenced by the movement for federation in Canada, which had been fostered by Cardwell as Colonial Secretary, but did not come to a head till 1867, when Carnarvon had succeeded him in Downing Street. Unfortunately he had not understood the lesson, and appears to have supposed that the Canadian settlement was in some way due to the minister who proposed the Bill in the Imperial Parliament rather than to the Canadians who drew it up, or the minister who left them free to do so. Accordingly he set about the South African business with a strange perversity.

He began by allowing his better judgment to

be influenced by the historian Froude, who had spent a few months in South Africa, where he had formed some erratic opinions on native and other questions, and sent him out again with an unofficial and undefined commission, rendering him independent of the Governor of the Cape, who was also High Commissioner. Guided by Froude, he endeavoured to bring together a conference representing the different Colonies and States in South Africa, and a sort of conference was finally held in Downing Street. An Enabling Bill was then drafted in the Colonial Office, and after some modifications in deference to South African criticism, submitted to the House of Lords. By a peaceful passage through that House, and a tempestuous passage through the House of Commons, it found its way to the Statute Book, upon which it fell lifeless and stillborn. Various efforts were made to galvanize it into life, and induce South Africa to make use of its provisions, but neither the character of the Act itself, nor the occasion of its appearance, nor the mode of its introduction forwarded its prospects of usefulness, and the fact that it was dead was made public long before the law pronounced that it had expired in 1882. In view of the important principles

involved it will not be amiss to review the leading incidents of this history in rather more detail.

The whole story is so extraordinary that were it not authenticated by official records it would appear incredible. A great deal of allowance is no doubt due to Carnarvon. The responsible ministry at the Cape was opposed to dividing up the colony, to convoking a conference representing the different States, to federating rather than uniting South Africa, and to passing an Enabling Act through the British Parliament before South Africa itself had agreed upon the terms of union. But none of these suggestions originated with Carnarvon. All had been put forward before either by Grey, or by Barkly; some by both. None had been definitely repudiated by South Africa, though Kimberley had expressed his preference for the sound method of waiting for South Africa to produce a constitution rather than the dubious method of passing an Imperial Enabling Act in advance. It would not, therefore, be just to represent Carnarvon as their author. What was peculiar to him was his method of putting the proposals forward, and his singular feat of first creating difficulties in the way of any scheme of union, then proposing an unattractive scheme, and finally selecting the most controversial means of forwarding it.

Immediately before the launching of his confederation proposals the greatest excitement and unrest was created throughout South Africa by Carnarvon's conduct in the case of Langalibalele, a chief whom the Natal authorities wished to have interned outside Natal. The Cape Parliament agreed to locate him in Robben Island, whereupon Carnarvon, without consulting the Cape authorities, disallowed the Cape Act, and issued instructions that the prisoner was to be removed to a location in the Cape Colony. A storm at once arose, not because of his care for Langalibalele, but because of his uncalled-for attempt to over-ride and dictate to the authorities in a self-governing Colony. The Prime Minister, Sir John Molteno, encountered the storm in deference to Carnarvon's wishes, and persuaded Parliament to pass a new Bill in accordance with the views of the Imperial Government, but though this saved Carnarvon from his immediate difficulties a great shock had been given to the confidence of South Africans in the reality of self-government, and the cause of federation was correspondingly damaged.

Carnarvon next proceeded to bring about a change in the government of Natal, where for some time there had been friction and public paralysis; but the new constitution reduced the powers of the

people's representatives, and this strengthened the suspicion that the Secretary of State was no friend of Colonial liberty. Moreover, the angry controversy about the possession of the diamond fields was not yet settled. It was this moment that Carnarvon selected for his endeavour to unite South Africa.

Without consulting either the High Commissioner or the Cape Ministry, or, apparently, anyone at all except Froude, he wrote a despatch directing Sir Henry Barkly to summon a conference of delegates from all the different Colonies and States to discuss matters of general South African importance, including federation. He proposed that the two provinces of the Cape Colony should be represented separately, and that the Prime Minister of the Colony should represent one, and one of his prominent opponents the other. And he sent out Froude to superintend the arrangements, and to represent the Imperial Government at the proposed conference. Froude had no political experience, and only the scantiest acquaintance with South Africa. He acted as might have been anticipated, and before very long found himself the centre of an agitation which derived its energy impartially from all the opposing forces of discontent in the country, but which he

simply regarded as flattering to himself and his mission. Carnarvon showed little more knowledge of affairs than Froude, and disregarding the decided utterances of the Governor, the Ministry, and the Parliament, almost lent credence to Froude's assurance that the real opinion of the country was represented not by these but by the plaudits which greeted his speeches, and by the petitions which poured in upon him. But the Cape authorities were firm. Parliament finally decided by 35 votes to 22 not to send delegates to Carnarvon's convention, which, according to a later despatch, was to meet in London, and the Republics refused to consider any proposal involving the loss of their independence.

Notwithstanding this, Carnarvon went forward with his conference, which was actually held in London in August, 1876, and discussed various questions of South African interest. It was attended by delegates from Natal, where the project of federation was popular, as it was hoped that union would give security to a community hardly strong enough to stand alone, and would ensure immediate self-government. President Brand, of the Free State, was also present. He had just agreed to an arrangement of the dispute about the diamond fields, and signed a document expressing

his "cordial satisfaction" with it "as a just and fair settlement in full of the question," and declaring that, "all ground for controversy now being removed," his Government would seek to co-operate with the British authorities in the common interests of their respective countries. But he was not empowered or prepared to discuss federation, so that when the conference approached that topic he left the room, and the only persons present who had any claim to a representative character were Mr. Akerman and Mr. Robinson, the two delegates from Natal. The conference, therefore, could do nothing to expedite federation.

Carnarvon, however, appears to have had no appreciation of the situation. He had expressed himself as quite willing to proceed, if necessary, without the Cape Colony. He cared so little for the opinion of the Free State that, although he published his own speech to the conference, he did not publish Sir John Brand's. He now decided to go forward undeterred by what had passed, and he proceeded to add to his difficulties by announcing his intentions not through the High Commissioner but through a deputation of Cape merchants led by Mr. Paterson, one of the chief opponents of Sir John Molteno. He resolved to ask Parliament to

pass an Enabling Bill, and before the end of the year he sent a draft to South Africa. The Bill was on the Canadian model, and it is impossible to read it now without recognising that it had many merits. But, considering that it emanated from the Colonial Office, it was too much like a constitution, and too little like a Bill enabling South Africa to make its own constitution. It was a good deal criticised in South Africa, and in Cape Colony the whole design was viewed with disfavour by the ministry, which, as we have seen, had a different plan for bringing about union. Carnarvon improved his Bill by modifying it in accordance with many of the criticisms passed upon it in South Africa. But he did not relinquish his design, and in 1877 he introduced his modified Bill into the House of Lords.

These remarkable proceedings had not passed without protest in England. Lord Blachford, who was the permanent head of the Colonial Office from 1859 to 1871, watched them with growing misgivings. His official position had given him an unique opportunity of understanding the forces which led to union in Canada. He did not approve of what he called "Lord Carnarvon's Cape of Good Hope agitation," nor of the change in the Natal constitution, and he regarded the Froude Mission as an error, and Froude himself as

“merely scenic,” and as singularly unpersuasive to judicious minds. He wrote to Dean Church: “Lord Carnarvon has, it seems to me, dropped into a scrape in South Africa.” Mr. W. E. Forster, who had been Under Colonial Secretary, and was now one of the Liberal leaders, in an address to the Colonial Institute, declaimed against the attempt to force federation, declaring that it was a fallacy to suppose that a constitution for South Africa could be framed in England; and Lord Granville, speaking in the House of Lords, made a weighty protest against the irregular methods of the Colonial Secretary.

When Carnarvon’s Bill came before Parliament the way had been prepared by the diffusion of much rather highly coloured matter presented as South African intelligence, and the oracles were dumb. The only protest in the House of Lords came from the aged Lord Grey, who did not approve of Responsible Government, and who was effectively answered by Cardwell. In the House of Commons it was different. The Liberal leaders, including Forster, lent their support to the Government, but a vigorous opposition was offered by a little group in which Mr. Courtney, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Parnell were the most active. The Bill reached the

House of Commons at the end of the Session, and the House as a whole was jaded. Only a hundred members voted in the division on the second reading. At the Committee stage the main principles of the clauses were not discussed, and most of the attention of the House was directed to the proceedings of Parnell and a few other Irish members, who did their utmost to prevent the passage of the Bill, and were only borne down after an all-night sitting. "The Bill," said Carnarvon, in assenting to the amendments of the Commons, "will live in the Parliamentary history of England as much as in the history of the Colony."

In forwarding the Act to South Africa the Colonial Secretary made some slighting remarks on the opposition of the Irish members, which, he said, was dictated by party considerations, and not by regard for the interests of South Africa. Mr. Butt said that if he believed Parnell's following to represent Ireland he should retire from Irish politics as a vulgar brawl in which no one could take part with advantage or honour to himself. The leaders of both British parties vied with each other in denouncing the small band of men who opposed the Bill. But in the calmness of retrospection it is impossible to withhold the acknowledgment that

the real honours of the debate rested not with the big battalions, but with the thin and despised squadrons opposing them.

“He refused to support this Bill, because there was no proof that the South African Colonies desired the proposed confederation, and because he maintained that any confederation of the kind ought to be voluntary and spontaneous and not forced.” “I consider that with this Bill closes, so to speak, the most important era of the modern history of South Africa.” Which of those two utterances was the wiser? Which would statesmen prefer to call their own now after the test of a generation’s experience? Which rings truer to South African ears? The first was spoken by Parnell; the second by the Secretary of State.

Among those whose attitude during the debate has been justified by events are Lord Courtney and Sir Charles Dilke. The latter declared that “he should continue to vote against the Bill, because he believed that it was a fancy of Lord Carnarvon’s, and that it had been forced upon the Colonies from the outside, and was not spontaneously originated by them.” It may be well to remember these things for the warning of too complacent occupants of front benches and as

a challenge to the belief that general unanimity implies wisdom.

Some important amendments were brushed aside without discussion. An overwhelming majority defeated the proposal that there should be no union apart from the Cape. An even larger majority decided that Colonies might be included in the union without the consent of the elected representatives of the people. But two amendments of first-class importance were agreed to. One provided for the "due representation of the natives in the Union Parliament, and in the Provincial Councils, in such manner as shall be deemed by Her Majesty to be without danger to the stability of the Government." Another provided that the powers conferred on the Government by the Act should not be exercised after August 1st, 1882. For both these amendments Mr. Forster was mainly responsible. The first never came into operation. It is impossible to say how much South Africa owes to the second.

Lord Courtney said that "the Bill, after all, if passed, would be a dead letter." Mr. Lowther, the spokesman of the Government in the House of Commons, professed "every confidence that it would prove acceptable to the inhabitants of the South African Colonies." Carnarvon expressed

the belief that the Bill "would go out to the Cape with greater weight than had been attached to any former measure relating to the colonies." At the end of the Session the Queen was made to say, after a reference to the Secocoeni War: "I trust that the measure which has been passed, to enable the European communities of South Africa to unite upon such terms as may be agreed on, will be the means of preventing the recurrence of similar dangers, and will increase and consolidate the prosperity of this important part of my Dominions." The hope thus expressed was not realised; Lord Courtney's prophecy was fulfilled, and this despite the fact that for the next three years both parties did their utmost to induce South Africa to bring the Act into operation.

Six months after the Bill was passed Carnarvon resigned office, and his career in Downing Street came to an end. His settlement of the diamond fields dispute must be counted to his credit, and he had many amiable qualities. Nor must it be forgotten that England had not at that time learned to doubt the doctrine, stated by Froude as an axiom, that "a colony has no external policy"; that the question of federation was one of relations with States under their own flags; and that, therefore, it was a natural mistake on the

part of Carnarvon to act without asking advice from the Ministers of the Crown in South Africa. But when all this has been said, it is difficult to contemplate without disquiet the fact of an Imperial Minister's setting about delicate negotiations as he did, and then obtaining in both Houses of Parliament the amount of support which he enjoyed, and this hardly a generation ago. Alike in the matter of federation, and in the equally grave matter of the annexation of the Transvaal, his behaviour betrayed that inclination for short cuts which wisdom abhors as her chief enemy. To South Africa his administration proved costly; to England, costlier still; to both, far less costly than its consequences. Those who knew South Africa best most decisively condemned him. Those who know it best to-day will be most eager to shun his example.

The rest of the history of the Enabling Act is mainly the history of Sir Bartle Frere. Frere was appointed by Carnarvon in 1876 "nominally as Governor, but really as the statesman who seems to me most capable of carrying my scheme of confederation into effect, and whose long administrative experience and personal character give me the best chances of success." Carnarvon added that he did not estimate the time required for

uniting South Africa at more than two years, but would wish Frere to remain two or three years more as the first Governor General of the South African Dominion. Frere replied that he recognised "the Imperial importance of your masterly scheme." When he arrived in South Africa, he found both the Cape Ministers and the Free State set against further action on Carnarvon's lines, the Volksraad of the Free State declaring "that the cherished jewel bestowed by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain on this State, viz., the independence of its inhabitants, is too highly esteemed by them easily again to abandon that valued treasure." After the Enabling Act was passed Frere had some correspondence with the Lieutenant Governor of Natal about summoning a convention, but by this time he was already embarrassed by the first of the series of native wars which marked his tenure of office, and by the entanglement of the Transvaal.

Marked reference was made to the subject of federation in all but one of the Governor's speeches at the beginning and end of the sessions of the Cape Parliament in 1878, 1879, and 1880. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who succeeded Carnarvon in 1878, endeavoured to expedite

matters by a despatch written in the following year suggesting prompt action by the Cape Ministers and Parliament. But, though federation had been brought prominently before the electors at the recent general election, and though there was a new Ministry specially attached to Frere, the Ministers declared that, deeply interested as they were in the cause of confederation, they could not advise its consideration as a practical question at a time when the whole of South Africa was absorbed in the anxieties of the Zulu war. Frere himself ascribed their inaction to the general fear that further encroachments on the self-governing powers of the Colonies might be intended, similar to that which had debased the constitution of Natal in 1875.

Mr. Gladstone returned to office in 1880 as Prime Minister, with Kimberley as Colonial Secretary. Many of their supporters were eager to secure Frere's recall. The Queen was anxious that he should remain in South Africa. Gladstone held that the Government had found no reason to distrust his proceedings or views with regard to confederation, which were the pole-star of the Government's South African policy, but he informed the Queen that "the only chance of Sir Bartle Frere's

remaining seems to depend upon his ability to make progress in the matter of confederation," and for a few months he remained. The hope that he could advance the cause of federation was not well grounded, for when the Cape Ministers submitted to Parliament resolutions approving of a conference to consider the question these met with so little support that they were rejected without a division. Frere was then recalled. But in the meanwhile Gladstone had informed the people of the Transvaal that he proposed to give them self-government by making that country a province in a federal union. This decision not to give self-government at once, trusting the people to join in a union afterwards, was the immediate cause of the first Boer War and all that grew from it. So disastrous were the results of relying on the name of federation rather than on the living reality of self-government!

In the last days of 1880, when the Transvaal was already in revolt, Lord Kimberley issued instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was about to succeed Frere in South Africa. He remarked that the Act of 1877 had received very general support in England, that it appeared impossible to govern South Africa efficiently except by a central authority, and that the Imperial Government was

strongly in favour of consolidation in some form. But he reverted to the sound principles which he had laid down when he was last in office. The Government, he said, was "disposed to think that for various reasons it will be more convenient that any fresh movement for confederation or union should be initiated spontaneously by the Colonies, from the conviction that their own political and material interests demand it." At the same time the Imperial Government would consider any such scheme that came from South Africa "with an earnest desire to be able to give it their sanction." He suggested that it might be possible to create a union for some special purposes, such as customs, ports or defence. Unhappily this was too late to be immediately effective. The mischievous results of the long reign of an interfering policy were not to be annulled by a single despatch. Instead of closer union there was fresh disruption, and for many years little was heard of federation.

But the wisdom of Kimberley's policy has been amply proved. After some years of wise administration by Sir Hercules Robinson a better spirit began to manifest itself in South Africa. In 1889 Sir Charles Mitchell, the Governor of Natal, on the occasion of his turning the first sod of the

railway connecting Natal with the Free State, declared his belief that "the occasion would prove the prelude of the day, so ardently desired by all true lovers of this country, when South Africa would be one, when all the States would be one politically, as they are in race, country and religion; in that love of freedom which distinguished both they would join hands and say that they were brothers in all that was necessary to advance the country, and make it take its place amongst the nations of the world." These sentiments were at once reciprocated by the representative of the Free State. A Customs Union between the Cape and the Free State had been established in the same year, and before the outbreak of war in 1899 Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Natal, and Rhodesia had joined. The Afrikaander Bond, which was established mainly in order to quicken political interests among the farmers, always regarded federation as a matter of principle. Had not fresh troubles intervened, the naturally centripetal instincts of the people and the harmonising influence of the country itself would no doubt have asserted themselves further, as they always have whenever they have been allowed to operate unimpeded, and the for-

ward movement which began in 1880 might have gradually led to union by a peaceful path.

Immediately after the war of 1899-1902 an attempt was made to suspend the constitution of the Cape Colony, and carry through federation without allowing the people to express any opinion about it through their representatives. This movement was stopped by the wise refusal of Mr. Chamberlain to entertain any such proposal. In 1905, shortly after arriving in South Africa as High Commissioner, Lord Selborne suggested the unification of the different railway systems, but the new Colonies had not yet received their constitutions, and the High Commissioner's proposal was not taken up. Next year was enlivened by a factitious agitation for union between the Transvaal and Natal. So little have the lessons of history been laid to heart.

Indeed so simple is the teaching of the past in certain respects that it baffles some refined intelligences. But the plain man, looking back over the record of those frequent and futile attempts to unite South Africa, will find that the moral of them all is singularly clear and easy to grasp. South Africa is not to be hurried, and will not have her business done for her. These characteristics are not peculiar to her, but they are

strongly marked in her nature, and on her records. A South African can now point them out with the greater complacency because his country is engaged in proving that, when the opportunity so long desired is at last presented, she knows how to avail herself of it with decision and despatch.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NATION'S OPPORTUNITY

IT is not easy to keep pace with the changes which come over such a country as South Africa. Within eighteen months of the discovery of diamonds at what is now Kimberley the Governor officially informed the Secretary of State that there had been a depression there, but that there were still at least twenty-five thousand diggers. According to Froude there were 40,000 British subjects settled on the diamond fields at the end of 1874; according to a ministerial minute there were not above 6,000 white people in the whole of Griqualand West two years later. Since then the population of that part of the country has twice risen and twice shrunk, the change in each case being rather violent than gradual, so that in the first forty years after the public announcement

of its existence Griqualand West has passed through seven stages of fortune. When the Cape Colony agreed to annex it, it agreed reluctantly, and as a favour to the Imperial Ministry. Since then it has several times been regarded as the most splendid of the colony's assets. In the same way, according to the testimony of the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, the Transvaal was looked upon by the people of the Cape with much indifference in 1871, and for years afterwards it was completely overshadowed by the Free State. Suddenly the whole position was reversed by the discovery of the gold fields, and for nearly twenty years the Transvaal has been able, when so disposed, to regard the elder sister almost as a poor relation.

In such a country it is wise to put a bridle on the confidence of prophecy. In 1859 Sir George Grey, no mean observer, insisted that within a few years the countries beyond the Orange River "must, in products, resources, and number of inhabitants, far surpass the united Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal." Since then the Cape Colony has certainly extended north of the Orange River, but at the census of 1904 the white population of the territories thus annexed was not half the white population of Natal, and that of the

portion of the Cape Colony south of the Orange River was very considerably larger than that of all the territories of British South Africa north of the Orange River taken together. For years inability to foresee the future was displayed in an indifference on the part of English statesmen to the ownership of provinces, some of which have been subsequently acquired at prodigious cost, while others are now the cherished and sometimes coveted possessions of foreign powers, and also in even more serious mistakes of policy.

But the moral of experience stated at the end of the last chapter clearly points to a sufficiently trustworthy diagnosis of the present position. The importance of leaving the work of consolidation to South Africa itself has long been admitted in theory. As we have seen, this principle, remembered only by a small minority in the House of Commons in 1877, was adopted afresh by Lord Kimberley in 1881. In May of that year one of his colleagues, Mr. Childers, writing to Sir Henry Parker about the Australian Conference on closer union, said that he had always favoured union in Australia, but that it was best for English people to be silent on the subject for fear of raising in Australia a suspicion that English politicians had some interest of their own in the question. He

added: "I hope that you will not move until public opinion in the colonies has been unmistakably and almost unanimously expressed in your favour. Our recent total failure in South Africa is a decided warning." This utterance is the more interesting because in early days Mr. Childers had held office in Victoria, and because, notwithstanding this, he had been one of the Liberal leaders who had helped in passing Carnarvon's South African Bill in 1877. But the most important confession of all is that of Lord Carnarvon himself. He visited South Africa in 1888, and wrote down his impressions on his return. As to the fate of his Act, he considered it "sufficient to say that the Imperial proposals did not secure the necessary loyal concurrence." He says that he was often pressed to speak on the subject, but that his "invariable answer was that proposals for confederation now ought to proceed from South Africa herself, or to be the spontaneous outcome of her own desires and public interests." On the whole we may safely regard it as an axiom, admitted in calm moments by English statesmen of both parties, that the first condition of success in the work of effecting South African union is that the work of formulating proposals should be left to South Africans, English statesmen agreeing in

the meanwhile to submit any impulses which prompt interference to the rigid discipline of self-control.

It evidently follows that the grant of full self-government is the essential preliminary of union. This is the share which had to fall to the Imperial Government. It may perhaps be urged that the Imperial Government had another task, namely, to break down the barrier created by the existence of different flags. This contention would evoke the reply that no interference was necessary; that South Africa always tended to draw together whenever it was left to itself for any considerable period; that South Africans at heart care more for their country than for anything else, and that had there been no interference union would have been effected, perhaps already, without a struggle, and in a way wholly satisfactory to all concerned. This argument would in turn arouse a rejoinder. Perhaps the most effective, though not the most common, retort would be that, although in 1854, and for a long period afterwards, the Imperial Government was anxious to see a union between the two republics, no such union was ever effected. But all this is in the uncertain region of speculation. The alternative to war was not seriously attempted, for full self-government

was only given to Natal in 1893, and the raid followed at the end of 1895. The question, therefore, whether war was necessary is not only one which it is wiser to pass over at the present time because it rouses passions best left undisturbed, but also one which can never be answered with certainty, because in the nature of things it could only be answered by experience, and war intervened before experience had had time to formulate its reply to that once momentous interrogation. We must therefore begin by simply accepting the fact of the war and the settlement made at Vereeniging, and having accepted it we revert to the solid rock from which we set out into the shifting and treacherous sands of speculation. After 1902 then the essential preliminary of union was that South Africa should possess full self-government, and it was the Imperial Government's share in the work of effecting union to secure this.

We have already seen how this principle had been grasped in earlier days. In connection with the question of South African union Sir George Grey wrote a panegyric of freedom as warm as the glowing sentence pronounced by Herodotus. Barkly insisted in 1871 that "the control of their own affairs by colonists ought in every case to precede federation." The sagest men of all

parties at the Cape urged the same principles in connection with the Transvaal between 1877 and 1880. Sir Bartle Frere, after all his experiences in South Africa, spoke to the same effect in a vigorous address to the Colonial Institute. "The question of responsible government," he said, "is a vital one as connected with any union of the South African Colonies. . . . Whether we look to the present efficiency of local colonial government or to any prospect of future union between any two or more colonies, I regard the grant of responsible government to Natal as the key of the whole position."

It may be remarked that the principle of self-government means more than the mere grant of a particular form of constitution. The Cape had responsible government in 1875, but Froude's agitation in the colony, considering his position as in some respects the official representative of the Imperial Government, was an invasion of the colony's rights as a self-governing state. The influence of English politicians who call one party British as if its opponents were in some way opposed to British interests, of those sections of the English Press which pursue the larger half of the European population of South Africa with incessant suspicions and insinuations calculated to

envenom feeling at the Cape, of financiers who hold out to the country the prospects of special favours subject to the condition that one set of politicians is returned to power and not another, all this has not been unknown to South Africa in the past, and as far as it has existed it has hindered the healing operation of self-government, and the resultant movement towards union, because it has limited self-government itself in substance if not in form. This does not mean that English opinion on South African affairs is necessarily intrusive, but it does mean that as far as it tends to identify one party with England and to fasten on the other a charge of disaffection or lukewarmness towards England, so far it discounts the grant of self-government, and is as mischievous as self-government is beneficial.

The circumstances of South Africa since the war have been singularly favourable to the healthy operation of freedom. The country now knows no frontier disputes, though it has had many in the past. In the new colonies the war has resulted in the replacement of old institutions by new ones, which have not yet had time to attach to themselves all the associations of long habituation. The jealous insistence on individual rights and the suspicion of authority which led to

the creation in the United States of a system of checks and counterchecks so elaborate as to impede the free movement of national life are almost too little known in South Africa. The racial mistrust and antipathies of the past never had any solid foundation, and were bound to pass away as mutual acquaintance dispelled imaginary suspicion, while for the time being there are no other great questions on which the people is deeply divided, so that for the moment, at any rate, it is able, when the opportunity offers, to devote its almost undivided energy to the work of consolidation. It may be added that the serious financial difficulties which throughout South Africa have been the aftermath of the war are at any rate favourable to the creation of a temper hostile to extravagance, and that such a temper in the authors of a constitution may spare the generations which have to use it endless anxiety and embarrassment. South Africa then is fortunate in the circumstances under which she at last finds her opportunity.

This opportunity is now before her. Here again it is not necessary to go beyond a simple statement of fact. The constitutions of the new colonies provide, it is true, for second chambers, which are in no way representative, but with the

appointment of the nominees for these chambers the control of Imperial officers ceased, and the chambers themselves have shown no disposition to thwart the popular branches of the legislature, nor indeed would they have had sufficient weight to fit them for an encounter, even had they otherwise been minded to try the venture. As far as the constitutions of South Africa are concerned self-government is practically complete. At the same time, although there are still some English extremists who occasionally endeavour to implicate England in the party contests of South Africa in such a way as to make one party orthodox and to place the others under a ban, there has on the whole been a marked diminution in the volume of these interludes, which have been left more and more to persons of little account. At the present moment there is very little that tends to impair, directly or indirectly, the freedom of South Africa to shape her course as she considers best.

The opportunity was given to South Africa by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his colleagues. The full account of their action will no doubt be written by future historians. At the present time it is enough to state the plain fact that the first Transvaal Parliament met on March

31st, 1907, and the first Orange River Colony Parliament on December 18th of the same year, and that from that moment the liberty of South Africa to govern itself was assured. History records many instances of the loss of great national opportunities. It records some instances of nations which have seized the opportunities offered them. Let us see how South Africa acquitted herself at the critical hour when, for the first time in her history, the responsibility for shaping her course devolved upon her.

It was in February, 1907, just two months after the definite announcement of the terms of the constitution about to be conferred on the Orange River Colony, that Mr. Steyn, late President of the Free State, and second to no South African in influence and sagacity, startled South Africa by declaring that federation would, in his belief, be accomplished within the next five years. This declaration was made in a manifesto addressed to the people of the Orange River Colony, to whom Mr. Steyn explained his reasons for not becoming a candidate for a seat in Parliament. General Botha, who spoke a few days later, immediately after becoming Prime Minister, was less definite, but expressed the hope that federation would be well advanced before his Government's term of

office expired. At the end of March the congress of the Afrikaander Bond recommended the appointment of a commission of investigation. But in some ways the most remarkable statement of the connection between self-government and closer union was contained in the Governor's speech on the opening of the Natal Parliament's session in June. This declared that with the grant of responsible government to the new colonies had arrived, in the opinion of the Government of Natal, the time to discuss federation. Meanwhile Dr. Jameson and his colleagues in the Cape Ministry had invited Lord Selborne to give expression to his opinions on the subject; and this invitation having been endorsed by the other South African Governments, the High Commissioner complied, and wrote a remarkable despatch in which he insisted with great force on the danger of disunion and the cogent difficulty of avoiding incessant friction between the different Governments, and no less forcibly pronounced that closer union must spring from the people themselves. There can be no doubt that this despatch did much good, not only by drawing general attention to the necessity of change, but also by conciliating many who were disposed to

look askance at the projected union as a project of questionable advantage to Imperial interests.

A motion had been brought before the Cape Parliament in 1906, suggesting that the Government should approach the Governments of the other British South African Colonies, and invite their co-operation in the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into the question of federating all the colonies "with the view to economy in administration." This proposal was not adopted, as it was felt that the time for action had not yet arrived, neither of the new colonies having as yet elected representatives to express their views. But in the middle of 1907 the Cape House of Assembly unanimously resolved that the Government "should, during the recess, approach the Governments of the other self-governing British Colonies in South Africa to consider the advisability of taking preliminary steps to promote the union of British South Africa, the result of such negotiations to be laid before the next Session of Parliament." This was proposed by Mr. Malan, who a few months later became Secretary for Agriculture in the Merriman Ministry, and seconded by Dr. Jameson, then Prime Minister. But it was agreed to without general enthusiasm, because it was widely felt that

it was premature to move before the Orange River Colony had obtained its Parliament, and also that the Cape Parliament, which had been elected early in 1904, before the excitement due to the war had subsided, had now ceased to represent the country, and that the work of union ought to be left to a Parliament elected without reference to past disputes; so that even if the same members were elected, they would represent a calmer mood than that of the years immediately succeeding the war. However, the resolution of the Cape Parliament was unanimously endorsed by the Natal Parliament, and fortunately the Cape Parliament was dissolved, and the Orange River Colony Parliament elected before the end of the year. The effect of the resolution was that the arrangements for a preliminary conference were partly made by the outgoing Cape Ministry, which was a real advantage, as the question of closer union was thus definitely placed outside party politics.

In September, 1907, the Cape House of Assembly unanimously agreed to a resolution "that the Government should take steps to secure the better preparation and dissemination, especially among members of the Legislature, of statistical and other official information regarding the condition of the various colonies of South

Africa," and strenuous efforts were made by individuals in different parts of South Africa to study South African affairs as a whole with a view to the approaching union.

By this time it was abundantly clear that South Africa was about to move. In the House of Commons Mr. Churchill said that the Imperial Government would watch the decision of the colonies, but would make no attempt to take the initiative. This resolution was scrupulously adhered to.

A conference of leading representatives of the different colonies was held at Pretoria early in May, 1908, as soon as the Cape elections were over and a special session had been held to enable the new Ministers to explain their intentions. The conference was in the first instance rather an illustration of the necessity of union than anything else. Great dissatisfaction had been felt on account of the existing Customs Tariff which had been arranged as recently as 1906, and in terms of the Customs Convention, and in deference to pressure from almost all sections of the people, the Transvaal Government had given notice of its intention to terminate the agreement. The agreement about railway rates had also broken down, and in 1907 a sudden and violent

crisis was precipitated by the shipping companies, which unexpectedly modified their freight rates, and thus threatened to upset the balance of trade, and divert traffic from channels to which it had been consigned by elaborate inter-colonial and inter-state arrangements. In both cases a railway war between the two impecunious maritime colonies was only averted by the energetic intervention of the authorities in the inland states, which imposed a truce upon the combatants. The conference of 1908 met primarily to deal with such matters as these, and it must have met in any case, even if there had been no thought of closer union. On the other hand the forces making for union were much deeper than a mere consciousness of administrative difficulties, and it is not only possible, but probable, that the National Convention would have met in October even if the difficulties of administration had been less obstinate than they proved to be. However this may be, it was soon found that the harrassing financial questions which the conference had been invited to dispose of could only be dealt with at the root, and therefore the conference resolved not to attempt any serious alteration of existing arrangements, but to recommend their temporary continuance with some

modifications of no very great importance, and at the same time, with a view to providing not only for the eventual settlement of questions such as these, but also for the satisfaction of the nationalist impulse which had laid hold of the whole people, and not least of the delegates themselves, to ask the Parliaments of the different colonies to appoint delegates to a National Convention authorised to draw up a definite scheme of closer union. This decision was arrived at without loss of time, and before the middle of July all the four South African Parliaments had agreed to it, and appointed their representatives. The Administrator of Southern Rhodesia had also declared in his speech on the opening of the Legislative Council in June that Rhodesia was in full sympathy with the project of South African Union, and hoped to take her place in it in due course.

There are several points calling for special notice in connection with these proceedings. In the first place the experience of the Conference of May, 1908, was the first genuine proof that South Africa could not solve the administrative problems without union. There had been many inter-colonial conferences since the war, but none of them had been attended by elected representatives

of the people in the new colonies, except a hurried and informal conference held in 1907 to deal with the situation created by the unexpected action of the shipping companies. That conference had dealt successfully with a very difficult problem in a few hours. At the beginning of 1908, therefore, there was not more than a presumption that a self-governing South Africa could only deal with its difficulties by establishing a central Government. But the conference of May, 1908, at once recognised and admitted its inability to adjust the conflicting interests which it represented. In one sense it broke down; in another it triumphed. It did not succeed in solving the practical problems of the country, and indeed it openly confessed that it could not do so, under existing circumstances; it did succeed in pointing out the way by which those problems could be solved—that is, not only recommending union, but suggesting the steps by which union could be attained.

In the second place, it must be observed that this advance was made solely by South Africans. At previous inter-colonial conferences since the war the High Commissioner had presided. On this occasion no Imperial officer was present, and the chair was taken by Mr. Moor, the Prime Minister of Natal. A similar course was followed

later in the year by the National Convention which formulated a draft constitution. Lord Selborne and the other Governors were at hand to give advice, but they were not members of the convention, and did not attend its sittings. So rigorously, and with such good effect, was the decision of the Imperial Government to refrain from interference, and to throw the whole responsibility of formulating proposals upon the people of South Africa, insisted upon and adhered to.

Thirdly, the forbearance of the different Governments and of the parties supporting them demands recognition. The labour party, it is true, has justly represented that no place was left for it at the convention, but as between the ministerialists and the regular opposition the greatest consideration was shown, and in the Cape especially the number of opposition delegates sent to the convention was out of all proportion to the strength of the opposition in Parliament. Yet not one word of complaint on this score was heard, and the forbearance of the majority met with its due reward in the confidence with which the people as a whole have regarded the convention, and in its consequent freedom from disturbance by contentiousness within or unrest without.

Finally it is interesting to observe that the only

opposition offered in the South African Parliaments came from a small band of five extremists in Natal, and in the Transvaal from Mr. Wolmarans, the lingering representative of the traditions which were specially associated with President Kruger in the minds of his keenest opponents. The drawing together of the great mass of the nation was not unfittingly marked by the meeting of these attenuated remnants of opposing extremes.

When once the National Convention had been decided on, the powerful forces which were behind the movement for union immediately became apparent. Not only was the nationalist sentiment of South Africa stirred, but it was found that the business community had become convinced of the advantage of union on purely financial and commercial grounds. In particular, the spokesmen of the great mining houses declared strongly for union. Societies were formed in many different parts of the country to study the problems of South Africa and to organise the forces favourable to union in case of any serious opposition. Not only in Cape Colony and the new colonies but also in Natal these societies rapidly attracted a large measure of public support. Nor were the churches indifferent to the work of consolidation.

The Dutch Reformed Church issued a call to prayer on the eve of the meeting of the convention, and the Bishops of the English Church sent a message expressive of their interest and sympathy. It would not be easy to find better evidence to show how the meeting of the National Convention was regarded in the heart of the people, and it may therefore be well to cite the words of these utterances. The heads of the Dutch Church published a translation of their Call to Prayer, which read as follows:—

“ Shortly the National Convention will (D.V.) be held in Natal, and what will be discussed, decided, and undertaken there will likely be full of importance for every portion of South Africa, and for its whole population. The future of our people in every respect will, under God's guidance, greatly depend upon the resolutions which will be adopted there. Who can calculate what influence those resolutions will have, not only on commerce and industry, on legislation and justice, but especially on the educational, the moral, and the religious interests of our people, and on the relations of the different sections of the population with one another? Who can calculate of how much importance these resolutions will be with reference to the whole native question on which so inexpressibly much depends

for South Africa and for God's Kingdom? God has His plans for South Africa; He is willing and able to use the National Convention to carry out His plans. There is, however, a great danger that His will may be resisted at the deliberations. He promises to hear the prayer of His people. Therefore it is meet that God's people should pray earnestly, unitedly, and continuously, and in faith, that it may please God to guide the delegates to the Convention by His Holy Spirit, in order that the resolutions which will be adopted there may be in accordance with His will, may redound to His glory, and may tend to promote the highest and holiest interests of the whole population of South Africa. We, therefore, recommend that on Sunday, October 11, special prayer be made in all the congregations of our Church that God's blessing may rest on the Convention, and on all its proceedings. (*I. Timothy ii., 1-4, Matt. xxi., 22*)."

The message of the English Bishops was agreed to by resolution:—

"The Bishops of the English Church in South Africa assembled in Synod desire to express to the President and members of the South African National Convention their deep interest in the noble work in which the Convention is engaged, and their earnest hope that God will guide its

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labours to a successful issue in the establishment of unity, concord, and co-operation between all the sections of the South African nation."

The Convention met at Durban on October 12th, the anniversary of the beginning of the great South African War nine years before. The solemn recollections which the day called up will, no doubt, remain; the bitterness in them has now been done away for ever. The King sent a message assuring the members of the Convention of his deep interest and cordial good wishes. The Imperial Government expressed its profound sense of the importance of the occasion, its confident hope of the results, and its conviction that all His Majesty's self-governing dominions would share in the feelings which prompted the message. When the Convention set to work it proceeded with a rapidity which, considering the circumstances and the precedents set by other countries, must be acknowledged to have been extraordinary. From October 12th to November 5th it sat at Durban; from November 23rd till December 18th, and again from January 11th, 1909, till February 3rd, at Cape Town. On the latter date it terminated its work, and the draft constitution was published on February 9th. So prompt, so decisive, so practical was the prepara-

tion which South Africa made for formulating her answer to the question how she would use her first national opportunity.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE PROBLEMS OF UNION

THE work of national consolidation is not necessarily completed when a national constitution has been formulated.

It may take many years to bring into line the different provinces of a nation formed by the union of component elements. Moreover, there are, of course, many practical questions which reformers of different kinds are anxious to deal with as soon as possible. It would have been easy for the National Convention to lose itself in an attempt at universal rectification or even universal consolidation. Its first claim to respect and gratitude is on the ground that it has resolutely avoided this danger, and confined itself to the task of deciding questions which could not be left over.

The Constitution recommended by the Con-

vention aims at creating an instrument of government and nothing else. The Constitution of the United States laid down several general principles, declaring what were believed to be the essential rights of man. Except for two words in the preamble, the draft Constitution of South Africa is severely laconic, and contains no statement of the principles of government, and no word calculated in itself to stir popular emotions; nor does it deal with one single question which is not essentially connected with the work of creating new machinery of government.

If the reader is moved to enthusiasm, it is not by the contemplation of any amelioration likely to result immediately from the passing of the South African Act, but by the thought of the use which may be made of the unimpassioned machinery which the Act is to set up.

The questions to which the Convention has proposed answers are those connected with this machinery, and no others. Is the Constitution to be elastic or rigid? Is power to be concentrated in the central authority, or divided? Are there to be provincial authorities or not? If there are, what are to be their powers? How are the provincial Legislatures and Executives to be formed and financed? As regards the central authority,

how is the National Parliament to be constituted? How many members are there to be, and what constituencies are they to represent? Who is to elect them, and how are the electors to vote? Is there to be a second Chamber? If so, how is it to be elected? What are to be the qualifications of members of Parliament, and what the relations between the two Houses, if there are two? How is the National Executive to be composed? How are the national finances to be managed? What are to be the Courts of Law? How is a National Civil Service to be created? Where is the capital to be? What shall be the title of the new nation? What provision is to be made for the inclusion of provinces not incorporated at the outset? And finally what is to be the procedure for bringing about the necessary changes? These, and these alone, are the questions which had to be answered by the Convention, and which the Convention has in fact answered.

When Sir Henry Barkly appointed a commission to enquire into federation in 1871, the first question which he put to it, after the question of the boundaries, was whether the Canadian model should be followed. The commission reported that the Canadian Act was not, in its leading features, applicable to the Cape. The circum-

stances of South Africa are essentially different from those of Canada with its English and French provinces, or Australia with its centrifugal tendencies resulting from its geographical circumstances, or the United States in the eighteenth century with their separatist traditions and theories, or Switzerland with its mountainous partitions, or Germany with its numerous and ancient courts and capitals. A constitution suited to any of these countries would not be suited to South Africa, and accordingly the Convention has boldly struck out on new lines, and drafted a constitution in the light of the experience of other countries, but with a view to the needs of South Africa. The draft constitution has more resemblance to the constitution of Canada than to that of any other country, but it differs from the Canadian constitution in essential particulars, and it would be an error to suppose that the South Africa Act is modelled after the British North America Act.

Perhaps the most important clause in the new constitution is the last, which gives the Parliament of South Africa full power to amend the Constitution Act, except that certain provisions cannot be amended for some years, and the clauses securing the native vote at the Cape and the

equality between the English and Dutch languages can only be altered if two-thirds of the total number of Members of Parliament agree. This clause provides South Africa with the means of readily adapting its constitution to its circumstances.

It is not to be found in federal constitutions, and some publicists who are suspicious of democracy, notably Sir Henry Maine, have admired constitutional rigidity which makes change difficult or impossible, and holds down national expansion with the clutch of a dead hand. But in Germany, the United States, and even Canada this rigidity has created difficulties, and especially financial difficulties, so numerous and so considerable that South Africans who remember how rapidly their country changes, and how difficult it is to foresee the lines of its development, will welcome for its own sake a provision additionally welcome because it implies confidence in the people. It is fair to remember that full power to amend the constitution was provided for in Carnarvon's Bill of 1877, except that Bills amending the constitution were to be reserved, and not brought into force until the Imperial Government had expressed assent to them, but that this liberty to amend was objected to by Mr. Forster, with the result that a

new clause appeared in the Act as passed, allowing the South African Parliament to pass laws repugnant to the Act, subject to the assent of the Imperial Government. This curious arrangement had previously been recommended by the Cape Federation Commission of 1871.

The first advantage resulting from the provision for future reform is that the dispute between unificationists and federationists at once loses its poignancy. The debate has been maintained for many years, and with considerable ardour. During the last general election at the Cape, Mr. Sampson, the Attorney General in the Jameson Government, endeavoured to make it a party question, representing his party as being committed to federation, and his opponents as advocates of unification, but, though Dr. Jameson gave some support to this contention, it quickly broke down, some of his leading supporters declaring for unification, while Mr. Hofmeyr, the veteran chief of the Afrikaander Bond, pronounced in the most emphatic way for federation, and was supported by many of his followers. Among these was the authoress, Olive Schreiner, who published a powerful plea for federation, urging that it would provide for a freer and more organic national life, and that small nations have done most for the world. It may be

remembered that in 1877 Parnell and the other Irish members, who withstood Carnarvon, expressed determined hostility to the Cape policy of unification, arguing from their experience of the union between England and Ireland. On the other hand no South African wishes to see the central power enfeebled or to reproduce in South Africa the condition which existed in America before federation, when the Congress was so weak that a handful of riotous soldiers was able to eject it from its place of assembly. The experience of Australia has been so unfavourable to the doctrine of state rights that Mr. Watson, who has been Prime Minister of Australia, in an interview which he had when on a visit to South Africa, spoke most emphatically on the point, while Mr. Fisher, the present Prime Minister of Australia, has said, in commenting on the decisions of the South African Convention that Australians "will be delighted if South Africa avoids our errors and takes advantage of our experiences."

We have already seen that as early as 1875 the Cape Ministry was in favour of unification. This tradition has been steadily carried on, and for years past Mr. Merriman, the present Prime Minister, has preached unification. Lord Milner, too, lent support to the same cause, and declared

his sympathy with it in a speech made while he was High Commissioner.

The judgment of the Convention is not uncompromising, but it is decidedly in favour of unification. Existing inter-colonial boundaries are not to be swept away; there are to be Provincial Legislatures and Executives, and the Senate, or Upper House, of the National Parliament is in the main to represent the provinces as such. But the National Parliament is to be omnipotent; the states are to be called not colonies, but provinces; their legislatures, not parliaments, but councils; their legislative enactments, not acts, but ordinances. Their legislatures are to be single chambers, elected for three years, possessing no exclusive powers, and liable to have their ordinances either vetoed by the National Ministers or over-ridden by Acts of the National Parliament. They are to deal with public works designed for local purposes, with local government, with matters which the National Ministers regard as merely local or private, and with others matters which may be delegated to them by Parliament. Members of Provincial Councils and Executives are to be ineligible for Parliament. The head of the Provincial Executive is to be called not a governor or lieu-

tenant governor, but an administrator; he is not to be elected, as Lord Courtney proposed in 1877, but nominated by the National Government; and he is to be assisted by an executive committee of three, four, or five elected by the Provincial Council, of which, however, they need not necessarily be members, on the system of proportional representation, so that if there are parties in the Council they are to share the responsibilities of administration, and party government in provincial matters is not to be recognised by the constitution. The financial relations of the provinces are to be considered by a commission, and are not, therefore, at present defined. But in part at any rate the provincial estimates are to be approved by the National Ministry, which will also appoint the auditors of provincial accounts, and even the allowances paid to members of the Councils will be subject to the control of the central government.

Altogether the national authorities are to be invested with ample power, including the power of taking more power, should they wish to do so, by amending the Constitution Act.

There are, however, two important duties which are assigned to the Provincial Councils. For at least five years education other than University

education is to be controlled by the provincial authorities, and the Provincial Councils are also to have power to examine private Bills, and to take evidence and report upon them, after which Parliament may pass them without further enquiry. In this respect the Provincial Councils will act as committees of Parliament, and the fact that they exist and can deal with local matters and with private Bills will no doubt go far to relieve the pressure of business in Parliament.

The relegating of education at the present time to the Provincial Councils is not unlikely to be criticised with effect, and it may seem strange that a matter of so great importance should be left to provincial authorities whose action in other respects is so rigorously confined and controlled. But this recommendation, due, no doubt, to the difficulty of immediately adjusting the differences, and especially the financial differences, between the educational systems of the four colonies, at any rate shows how easily the power and importance of the Provincial Councils may be increased. It must be remembered that at present there are not more than 1,200,000 white people in the whole of South Africa. This fact clearly lends weight to the arguments of unificationists. But if the population expands and its interests increase as

South Africans hope and expect, then it is likely enough that in the future devolution may be desirable. There is nothing in the constitution to prevent it, if it should prove so. Thus on the whole the Convention has clearly interpreted what appears to be the real feeling of the people. In the main to-day is a day for unification; to-morrow may be a day for federation. The draft constitution provides for to-day's needs, and leaves to-morrow free to provide for its own.

Meanwhile the supreme power is to be in the hands of the National Parliament. Its constitution is clearly of the utmost importance in itself; in addition to which it has to be remembered that questions connected with the franchise and the distribution of seats have been foremost among the subjects of dispute which have torn South Africa in the past. There are three principles of dealing with the question of distribution; there may be automatic distribution on the basis of voters; there may be automatic distribution on the basis of population; and there may be distribution according to what is felt to be the comparative importance of the several parts of the country. In recent times it has been represented that the only just system is the first of the three named, but this is by no means self-evident. It has also been

represented that in South Africa one particular party stands to gain, and another to lose, by distribution on this principle, but this is not the fact. It must be confessed that English statesmen have usually advocated the third alternative, except for South Africa, and have adduced many weighty considerations to show why numbers should not be the only point to be considered.

When the Cape constitution was given, this view was insisted upon by successive Colonial Secretaries, and there was no provision for automatic redistribution in South Africa until the grant of the constitutions to the new Colonies. There are indeed weighty reasons against such a system in South Africa. The whole population being comparatively small, stability is threatened by sudden and violent movements of population in the mining centres, now up, now down, as in the case of Kimberley, where in less than eight years the population rose to something like 40,000, and fell again to 6,000. In such a case fluctuation is too rapid even for quinquennial censuses, and the result of automatic distribution of seats would be that the forty thousand would be unrepresented, and by the time the considerable number of seats proportionate to their numbers was given there would only be the six thousand to vote for them.

Moreover, in a country where political problems are difficult and peculiar, and where the towns are always liable to be flooded by a sudden influx of floating population having no intention of settling in the country, neither the justice nor the wisdom of numerical distribution is obvious. Above all, when population is very sparse the people cannot be kept in touch with the Government except by arrangements which offend against the strict law of numerical proportion.

But experience shows that no Parliament can be trusted to do justice in this matter without a fixed rule. In Cape Colony the large towns have considerably fewer members than their numbers entitle them to, and on the other hand places like Grahams Town and Mafeking are largely over-represented. In Natal the contrast is even more marked, and whereas in Alfred County there is one member to every 195 voters, in Durban there is only one to 1,500. Redistribution Bills are extremely difficult to steer through the shoals of prejudice and intrigue, and therefore on the whole wisdom will perhaps pronounce, though in halting accents, for automatic redistribution.

The next point to decide is whether the basis of distribution is to be the number of the population or of the voters. It is plain that in South

Africa population alone cannot be taken as the basis, because of the large numbers of uneducated and imperfectly civilised natives. Nor can the number of voters alone be taken as a basis, because there are differences between the franchise laws of the different colonies. The question, so far as South Africa as a whole is concerned, thus narrows itself down to a choice between distribution on the basis of the European population and distribution on the basis of the number of European male adults.

To ignore the women and children altogether is strange procedure, and it gives to an unsettled population a weight which would never be assigned to it if the question were one of abstract justice. Indeed, experience shows that in South Africa, owing to the migratory character of some sections of the urban population, a considerably larger proportion of the registered voters record their votes in the country, where distances are great and voting difficult, than in the towns, where distances are small and voting easy, so that if every vote given is to have the same value the number of voters or of adult males cannot be taken as the basis of distribution. But great importance has been attached to the principle of distribution based on the number of voters not only in South Africa,

but also, curiously enough, in England, which is far better suited for such a provision than South Africa, but has hitherto resisted the application of any such principles to herself. The Convention has recommended the adoption of the number of European male adults as the basis of distribution. It is not easy to defend this decision on principle, but it is hardly likely to produce bad effects in practice, and it puts an end to a long and unprofitable controversy.

A somewhat serious departure from this principle is made at the outset with the object of placating the smaller colonies, and especially Natal. According to the basis agreed upon Natal should have 12 members; it has 17. The Orange River Colony should have 14; it, too, has 17. The Transvaal has 36 instead of 37, and the Cape 51 instead of 58. Considering that in the Senate the direct representation of the Colonies is to be equal, the decision to import provincial considerations into the question of distribution for the Legislative Assembly can only be defended by reference to practical exigencies.

At first sight it may seem strange that South Africa, which gives the provinces less power than the states or provinces have in Canada or Australia, should consider them more in distribut-

ing the seats in the National Parliament than either of these countries do ; but reflection will show that these two decisions explain each other. In order to induce the smaller colonies to agree to unification it has been necessary to give them a number of representatives in both Houses of Parliament disproportionate to their population.

It must be added that this is only for a time. After every census each of the colonies will be entitled to an extra member in the Legislative Assembly for every increase in the number of its European adult males equal to the quota formed by dividing the number of European adult males in the four colonies at the census of 1904 by the number of members of the first Assembly. In 1904 there were 349,837 European adult males in the four colonies—167,546 in the Cape Colony, 106,493 in the Transvaal, 41,014 in the Orange River Colony, and 34,784 in Natal. The number of members of Parliament is to be 121. The quota is, therefore, 2,891, or 1.8 per cent. of the European adult males in the Cape Colony in 1904, 2.7 per cent. for the Transvaal, 7.0 per cent. for the Orange River Colony, and 8.3 per cent. for Natal. When the total number of members has been increased in this way to 150, it is to be fixed, and the distribution between the colonies is to

follow the strict rule of proportion. On the whole this arrangement appears to be an ingenious compromise, and deserves to be regarded with general satisfaction.

So far we have only spoken of the number of seats assigned to the different colonies. The arrangement of the constituencies in the colonies is to be according to the number of registered voters in each constituency, deviation from the strict rule being, however, permitted to the extent of 15 per cent. either way where circumstances warrant it. Thus in the Cape Colony there are 152,121 voters, and there are to be 51 seats and approximately 17 constituencies. The average would be 8,948 voters to a constituency, but the constituencies may include as many as 10,290 or as few as 7,606. This arrangement follows principles already discussed, and will be accepted by those on both sides who consider a peaceful settlement of an old and rankling dispute more valuable than the principles which they hold in regard to parcelling out constituencies.

We have already mentioned that the franchise laws in the different States vary. In the new colonies there is manhood suffrage for Europeans, while in the Cape Colony and Natal there are property qualifications, and in the Cape an educa-

tional qualification. There are other divergences of minor importance, but behind and beyond all these there is the towering fact that in the Cape natives and coloured men vote, whereas in the new colonies they are excluded by law, and in Natal partly by law and partly by administrative usage. It would have been well if the Convention could have devised a common franchise such as would satisfy all reasonable requirements, but this was not essential, and it is hardly astonishing that it was not done.

Instead, the existing franchise laws are to be maintained until Parliament otherwise decides. Parliament is free to legislate on the subject, but no Act disfranchising inhabitants of the Cape Colony merely on account of their race or colour can be carried unless it is passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together, and unless at the third reading at least two-thirds of the total number of members agree to it, and no Act can remove voters from the register merely on account of race or colour; nor can the former of these two safeguards be removed except by the same procedure which it prescribes for passing the Bills to which it refers.

It is highly unlikely that any serious attempt will be made for many years to re-open burning

franchise questions. To be sure, there are in South Africa, as elsewhere, firebrands who naturally delight in questions of this kind; but it is to be expected that the sober sense of the great mass of the people will prevent any rash attempts to disturb the compromise which has been arrived at. If so, the various franchise systems will have for the first time an opportunity of proving themselves under the scrutiny of the whole of South Africa, and those who, like the present writer, believe that what is essential in the Cape system —namely, the granting of the franchise to natives and other coloured persons who are otherwise properly qualified to exercise it—is not only just, but also expedient, and believing this, believe also in the justice and reasonableness of the European population of South Africa, may well be content to await the result in the patience which springs from confidence.

The mode of election is to be the system of proportional election with the single transferable vote. This system is simpler than its name, but its application to South Africa is one of the most questionable provisions in the draft constitution. Lord Courtney proposed proportional representation for the Senate in 1877, and a singularly simple and effective system of proportional representation

has been used for many years at the Cape in elections for the Upper House. But it offers no great advantage, and it entails at least one disadvantage, which, if the system were applied in elections for the popular House, would be most serious and dangerous.

At the last general election for the Legislative Council the minorities failed to return a representative in three of the seven electoral circles contested, and three of the others were four-member constituencies in which the opposing parties were not far from being equal. In each circle where the minority is represented by means of the system of proportional representation in the Upper House, it is at least equally well represented by the ordinary system in the Lower House; nor is it possible to say that at the present time the system of proportional representation makes any material alteration in the personnel of Parliament. What it does is to make the constituencies so large that members can know but little of their constituents. At present this is no great drawback, for the members of the Lower House are in close touch with the people. But under the proposed arrangement this system applies to the only elective house. It is true that an exception may be made "in special cases of sparsely populated areas," but the fact

remains that the general rule is to be the creation of constituencies with three or more members.

At the Cape there are now 107 members of the Legislative Assembly. The Cape is to send 51 elected members to the National Parliament. This means, according to the present figures, that outside the four large centres of population—the Cape Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Kimberley—there will be only 34 members and, unless the general rule is departed from, only ten or eleven constituencies, instead of thirty-nine as there are at present. These constituencies will extend on an average over some 23,000 square miles. In the Transvaal, outside the Rand and Pretoria, the constituencies will extend over some 18,000 square miles apiece.

There is reason to fear that this arrangement may tend to confine membership of Parliament to rich men and, what is much worse, the agents of rich men and richer corporations. But there is a still weightier reason for apprehension. Nothing could be more disastrous for South Africa than a divorce between the people and the Parliament. Yet it would seem clear that members cannot maintain the personal relations with their constituents which are requisite in a country like South

Africa if they have to represent areas so vast as those now contemplated. No doubt the proposed system of proportional representation offers many advantages in thickly populated countries and districts; nor is there any great objection to it in elections for second chambers anywhere. But no popular demand for it has hitherto been heard in South Africa; the present circumstances of the country seem singularly unfavourable to its working, except, possibly, in a few large towns; the present moment exceptionally inopportune for its introduction.

All this must induce cautious men to pause and consider whether it is possible to make this change at the same time as the Cape Upper House (hitherto directly elected by the people) ceases to exist, and the Lower Houses all over South Africa are replaced by a single Assembly, to which the different Colonies are to send less than half the number of members they send to their Legislative Assemblies at present, without seriously weakening the ties between the people and the Legislature, and thereby bringing about consequences not the less grave because their operation may be too subtle to be quickly detected and assigned to their proper cause.

The method proposed for constituting the

Senate is not less ingenious, and is far more satisfactory. Carnarvon's original Bill provided that the Upper House should be nominated, as in Canada. Sir Henry Barkly cautiously expressed a preference for an elected Upper House, and mentioned that the Cape favoured nomination by the Provincial Councils, as in the United States. In the Act of 1877 this question was left open. Since then the Canadian system has been emphatically condemned by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and at the present time an attempt to reform it is being made. The old Cape policy has been adopted in the main by the National Convention. Each of the four Colonial Parliaments is to nominate eight members to the first Senate, which is to last for ten years, and afterwards the Provincial Councils are to elect. The system of proportional representation is to be followed. The National Cabinet will nominate eight more senators, four of whom are to have special acquaintance with the reasonable wishes of the coloured races. The usefulness of an Upper House is not now as clear as it once was, nor is it easy to say what its objects ought to be, and therefore how it should be constituted. Shorn of effective financial power, Upper Houses sometimes become effete, and it is possible that this fate may overtake the Senate of South Africa.

But for the present it has two plain duties. It is to protect the interests of the provinces and of the natives. For these purposes its composition should make it eminently fit, and here again the Convention appears to have arrived at a thoroughly satisfactory settlement.

Members of either House of Parliament are to be paid £300 a year, of which they will forfeit £2 for every day they fail to attend. There is a small property qualification for Senators. Otherwise, the only specially remarkable provision about members of Parliament is that only Europeans are to be qualified to act as members. For over fifty years natives have been free to sit in the Cape Parliament if elected. Not one has taken advantage of this provision. It would, therefore, appear that there is no practical reason for either supporting or opposing the recommendation of the Convention in this particular.

The relations between the two Houses are carefully defined in the draft constitution. The Senate is narrowly limited in its treatment of financial bills, the unwritten law of the British Constitution being incorporated in the written constitution of South Africa. If the Senate comes into conflict with the Lower House by rejecting a money bill, or by rejecting any other bill in two sessions, or by

insisting on unacceptable amendments, there may be a joint sitting of the Houses, at which the point at issue will be decided by the majority of members of the two Houses combined. This promising provision is on the lines of one inserted in the constitution of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony; its place of origin is the Australian Commonwealth Constitution.

The executive power is to be in the hands of a ministry formed on the English plan. As at the Cape at present, Ministers are to be allowed to sit and speak, though not to vote, in either House of Parliament. They must be members of one House or the other—a rule which is generally recognised in the self-governing countries of the British Empire, but was broken in the case of Mr. Gladstone when he was Colonial Secretary. The authors of the Australian Commonwealth Constitution were the first to embody it in a legislative enactment.

The financial clauses of the constitution make over all the assets and liabilities of the four Colonies to the national authority; establish a board of commissioners to control the railways, under the general directions of a Minister; provide that the management of the railways is to be on business lines, due regard being had to the importance

of agricultural and industrial development throughout the country; divert part of the Rand traffic from Delagoa Bay to Natal and the Cape ports; make the expense of school education, which is to be managed by the provincial authorities, a charge on the National Exchequer, the estimates of expenditure being consequently submitted to the National Ministry for approval; and create the offices of an Auditor-General for the nation and Auditors for each of the provinces, all appointed by the central government. The provinces are to raise their revenues by direct taxation within the province concerned, and a Commission is to investigate their financial position.

It is very unlikely that any serious opposition will be offered to these proposals. South Africans who are interested in finance are not unacquainted with the history of the financial relations between the States and the nation in Canada, Australia, and the United States, and dread federation. They will therefore welcome the uncompromising unification of the finances.

The decision of the Convention about the Courts of Law will surprise no one. Matters are to be let alone as far as possible, but there is to be a Supreme Court of South Africa, of which the existing Supreme Courts will be divisions. There is

to be an appellate division, to which all appeals in South African cases will go, and from which there will be no appeal to the Privy Council unless the Privy Council grants special leave. Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in regard to which such leave may be asked and given, but such laws will be reserved and not brought into operation until they have received the express assent of the Imperial Government. This arrangement is in the main on the lines of the proposal agreed to at the Colonial Conference in 1907.

One other effect of the new constitution concerning the Courts of Law may be mentioned. Advocates and Attorneys now qualified to practise before the Supreme Court in any of the Colonies will in future be free to practise before the Appellate Division of the new Supreme Court, and before the Division formed out of the Colonial Supreme Court before which they are entitled to practise at the present time. But this will not give them the right to practise before other Divisions. In fact, the differences which separate the legal profession in the different Colonies will for the present continue. No doubt they will be removed in due course.

A Commission is to be appointed to make recommendations for the organisation of the Civil

Service, and the general control of the service will be assigned to a permanent Public Service Commission. The rules of the Civil Service differ in the different Colonies, and considerable skill will be needed to adjust diverging or conflicting tendencies. It is, of course, impossible to anticipate the recommendations of the Commission and the decisions of the Government; but it is already clear that everything is to be done which can be done to fence the Civil Service round with barriers calculated to be proof against sinister influences.

The question of the capital has roused strong feelings, and excited very general interest. Durban is a singularly well-ordered town; Bloemfontein is central; Pretoria is the capital of the one Colony with a financial surplus; Cape Town is the parent city, more settled, more beautiful and better suited to be a residential centre than any of her daughters. The cost of living is far less in Cape Town than in the interior, so that there are strong financial reasons for making it the capital. But Cape Town is in a corner, far removed from the mines and more difficult of access from Natal, from the inland States, and even from large parts of Cape Colony herself, than any of her rivals. The two strongest States in

South Africa are the Cape Colony, which is large, populous and rich in permanent resources, and the Transvaal, whose Treasurer is in the enjoyment of great affluence derived from the gold mines. It was therefore natural that the main contention should be between Cape Town and Pretoria.

The compromise which makes Pretoria the administrative and Cape Town the legislative capital, and awards financial compensation to Bloemfontein and Maritzburg seems a not unsatisfactory solution of the difficulties resulting from rivalry between the different states. It must entail large expenditure, the duplication of many public and private establishments maintained, directly or indirectly, out of the public Treasury, difficulties of administration not making for efficiency, and so forth. But it offers the important advantage of bringing different parts of the country into close contact with the Government; the administrative difficulties which it creates appear not to be insurmountable, judging by the experiences of India and Ireland, and must tend to diminish as methods of communication improve, and on the whole there appears to be good reason to hope that the proposed arrangement may not only prove suitable to the present circumstances

of South Africa, but become increasingly satisfactory as time goes on, and amply justify the considerable expenditure which it must entail.

Many titles have been proposed for the new state. Thirty years ago it was to be a dominion; afterwards a commonwealth. Some have suggested the use of the much abused, and therefore uninspiring, word union. Others again would have borrowed the ominous phrase, the United States. The Convention proposes the simple title, South Africa. It would be much easier to lengthen this than to improve it.

The draft constitution provides for the ultimate inclusion of states not embraced in the original union, and also for the transference to the union of the government of native territories now under the protectorate of the Crown. The terms in the one case are to be arranged when the movement of incorporation approaches; in the other they are contained in the schedule dealing with the protectorates. This provides that the Government is to be carried on after the transfer on the same lines as before: there is to be a resident commissioner; native councils, where they exist, are to continue; the revenue derived from each protectorate is to be spent upon it; and the same proportion of the customs revenue of South Africa is to be paid to

the treasuries of the protectorates as belongs to them at the present time. The control of the protectorates is to be in the hands of the Prime Minister, assisted by a council of not less than three permanent commissioners. The Government can legislate for the protectorates, when transferred, by proclamation, but all laws thus passed are liable to be vetoed by the Imperial Government. In the same way all laws amending the schedule referring to the protectorates will be reserved, and will not be brought into operation without the consent of Downing Street. The schedule also prohibits Europeans from acquiring land in the native reserves, and from selling him strong drink. It is not easy to find a theoretical justification for the fixing of the proportion of the customs revenue of South Africa payable to the protectorates.

It is clear that circumstances may change; the protectorates may develop either more or less rapidly than the rest of South Africa, and one may advance faster than another. But it is also clear that some rule must be adopted, and it would be difficult to find one which would satisfy a demand for precision. Until a more scientific plan is proposed the Convention's proposal holds the field, and owing to the provision for amendment

there is no reason to fear that it will not deal out substantial justice. Altogether the provisions in regard to the protectorates are all that the most ardent protector of the natives could desire.

Such are the main provisions of the draft constitution. It is proposed that it should be passed as an Act of the Imperial Parliament, as soon as possible after it has been consented to by South Africa. In 1877 the Irish members and others, including Lord Courtney, urged that the constituencies in South Africa should be consulted before union was actually effected. In Natal pledges have been given that the question of union is to be referred to the people for decision. If the people are directly consulted at all, a referendum would seem to be the best course. A general election might dangerously obscure the issue, and it would cause unnecessary disturbance and expense. A referendum would have the advantage of silencing separatist agitation in the future, should such agitation spring up after the inevitable discovery that union brings with it some practical inconveniences as well as advantages less apparent to the impatient eye. But even a referendum may fail to represent the feeling of the people.

In Australia, when the constitution was referred

to the people direct in 1898, the number of those who voted was less than half the number on the registers and less than the number of those who had voted at the recent general election. Electors who are dissatisfied naturally vote. Those who are not are naturally tempted to abstain. The merits of the referendum are not, therefore, unlimited, and the desirability of employing it must depend to a great extent on the feeling of the people. The sentiment expressed by a member of the Cape Parliament who declared that he was ready to vote for whatever form of union the National Convention recommended is widely prevalent in South Africa, and such opposition as there is to the scheme as a whole appears to be rather thin and theoretical.

It must also be remembered that the Parliaments have all been elected since the question of closer union entered the sphere of practical politics. On the whole, therefore, the submission of the question to the direct judgment of the electors seems unnecessary, but may be prudent, should any serious opposition manifest itself.

There seems no reason to apprehend that great objection will be made to the scheme in the United Kingdom. Suggestions have been made in South Africa that the constitution should be given by

Order in Council rather than by Act of Parliament. It is now thirty-eight years since Lord Kimberley, as Colonial Secretary, declared in favour of an Act, and this has been the view of the Colonial Office ever since. Probably the changes proposed could not legally be made in any other way, and the alternative seems to be both unattractive and dangerous. However, since this point is now agreed upon it is not necessary to discuss it further.

South Africa requires a constitution which will be effective and economical, and which will create national institutions corresponding to the genius of the people, and moving the people not to awe but to co-operation. The constitution proposed by the Convention certainly seems likely to be efficient. The central power which it sets up will not go upon crutches; it is rather likely to prove a powerful engine of government by which a determined minister and a strong Parliament may enforce their will. And though the new constitution is openly expensive, and will certainly not in the first instance cheapen the machinery of Government, yet the completeness of the control which it gives to ministers is not unlikely to check the more serious evils of secret waste that wait on constitutions which weaken control by dividing

sovereignty between different parliaments, or water down the responsibility of ministers to the legislature.

The importance of enlisting the sympathy and interest of the people can hardly be exaggerated. It is this that makes wise men everywhere advocates of local government, and in South Africa this principle is especially important, because many of the people are separated from the seat of government by great distances, and because to half the white population institutions indifferent to them might present the appearance of alien domination.

The history of South Africa is full of warnings on this point. Without the active assent of the people the best laws are of little value. For instance, the system of public education devised by Sir John Herschel for the Cape broke down solely in consequence of its advocate's failure to attract the co-operation of the people. In this connection the clause in the constitution enacting that the English and Dutch languages are to be equal is of vital importance, and it is eminently satisfactory that such a clause should have been agreed to. On the other hand the method of electing members to the Legislative Assembly must appear hazardous to those who admit the importance of keeping

the people in touch with the legislature, and the treatment of education is also unfortunate, for little satisfaction can be derived from an arrangement which makes a violent separation between school and higher education, giving the control of the latter to Parliament, and handing over the former to provincial councils and executives hardly constituted in such a way as to be likely to manage with efficiency a national concern which comes so near home to the hearts of the people. This, however, may be rectified.

The whole constitution bears the stamp of compromise, but the compromise effected is akin to the highest statesmanship, for by concessions not likely to be felt permanently it purchases freedom for the eventual assertion of sound principle. Thus nationalism yields something to provincialism at the moment of union without serious prejudice to the future. In the same way the overshadowing native question is left over, but wisdom is given free scope to prove herself and plead her own cause. Without moderation and discretion in the working no good can come of any constitution. But these qualities are conspicuous among South Africans, and they have never been more conspicuous than they have been in the work of the Convention. If they are as conspicuous in

those who will work the national institutions as they have been in those who have constructed them, the new constitution should serve eminently well as the instrument by which South African statesmen may deal successfully with their country's problems as they become ripe for solution.

Among the earliest of these problems will be the completion of the work of consolidation in regard to certain matters most wisely left over by the Convention. A vast work remains to be done in the way of codifying the law of a United South Africa, establishing a common system of defence, bringing the taxation acts into accord, making the mining law homogeneous, laying down uniform principles for the control of the liquor traffic, of immigration, and naturalisation, of trade and of labour, devising adequate machinery for the joint working of the railways and the posts and telegraphs, and creating a National Public Service. In all these matters the necessity of consolidation and of controlling divergent systems pending the completion of this task will tax the legislative and administrative capacities of South African statesmen to the utmost. But the work of the Convention enables them to set out on this great enterprise with the happiest auguries, and in a

peaceful atmosphere well suited to long sustained effort devoted to the practical work of government.

## CHAPTER VII

### NATIONAL FINANCE

IT is not easy for a country to be well governed without a good constitution. But it is impossible for a country to be well governed without sound finance.

Good government means that all the energies of the people are set free and stimulated to exercise themselves in profitable work; but this is impossible if the resources of the country are wasted on administrative superfluities or unnecessarily costly methods of collecting taxes, or if sectional interests are permitted to direct financial policy so as to create or maintain among various classes of the people habits of luxury and self-indulgence which it is not to the advantage of the nation to support. On the other hand there can be no greater blessing than a patriotic policy

which pursues with sleepless vigilance and resolution the unswerving purpose of reducing administrative expenditure to the lowest point compatible with efficiency, and keeping it there, securing that the amount which taxation costs the people shall be as close as possible to the amount which it yields to the treasury, and using the engines of finance to bleed or break down every excrescence which sucks up into itself national vigour better employed in other ways, and squanders it on the maintenance of foolish or unfruitful exuberance.

Unfortunately the path of sound finance is exceptionally arduous, because every suggestion of bad finance presents to some section of the people the prospect of immediate advantage, while the disadvantages consequent upon it appear remote and nebulous, so that there is nothing to set against the glittering fascinations of public prodigality except the austere verdict of patriotism. But for these reasons finance is the surest test and touchstone of a nation's loyalty to itself.

In South Africa sound finance is especially important, and especially difficult. It is especially important because the country is not only poor, and therefore unable to afford extravagance, but largely dependent for such wealth as it has on

resources more or less precarious, so that if it lives beyond its means now it is preparing a cataclysm for the future when its temporary resources begin to fail. For the same reason sound finance is especially difficult in South Africa, because caution in the management of South African national finance is not caution unless it is such as to appear unnecessarily cautious to those who fail to allow for the transitory character of much of the country's present wealth.

Sound finance is also impeded in South Africa, perhaps more than elsewhere, by men whose only care is their personal prosperity, and who endeavour to secure the fullest opportunity for carrying out their purpose in life without regard to the interests of the future. Considering all this, and remembering that without severely sound finance the means of carrying out the projects of enlightened policy in other matters are frittered away so that they are not forthcoming when needed, we must regard finance as the first, if not the greatest, concern of the National Government of South Africa.

Early in 1906 Mr. Abraham Fischer, the present Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony, said that the financial position throughout South Africa was alarming. It is not less so now than it was

then. There have been large recurrent deficits for several years in the Cape Colony and Natal. It is true that the Orange River Colony has hitherto paid its way, and that the Transvaal exchequer is flourishing. But in 1907-8 the Cape deficit was £974,000, and the Natal deficit £179,000, while the Transvaal surplus, that is the excess of revenue over ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, was £391,000, and the Orange River Colony surplus £2,000. Therefore, taking the four colonies together, there was a deficit of £760,000 on the year's working, or more than  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. of the total revenue. The estimates of the Cape, Natal, and Orange River Colony Treasurers for the year 1908-9 are being left far above high water mark by the actual revenue, and though the Transvaal is prospering it is becoming plain that when the accounts for the year 1908-9 are closed there will be a deficit for the four colonies together, not so serious as that for the preceding year, but still uncomfortably large. Moreover the constitution puts a stop to railway surpluses, and without such surpluses the Transvaal would be as far from financial equilibrium as the rest of South Africa. Southern Rhodesia has at last emerged into a period of surpluses. It will be strange if South Africa, to give the future union

its official designation, is unable to pay its way, while Southern Rhodesia has an excess of revenue over expenditure.

It is, of course, impossible to form a sound judgment on the financial position of a country without considering its economic position. Unhappily there is much in the economics of South Africa to darken still more the already sufficiently dark picture of its finance. At the end of 1907 the Surveyor General of the Orange River Colony drew attention to the precarious nature of revenue derived from the mines, and urged that it should not be regarded as ordinary revenue. The recent history of the diamond market has amply justified this warning. During the session of 1907 directors of the great De Beers Company who sat in the Cape House of Assembly assured Parliament that the Kimberley mines would be working at full blast a century later. During the ensuing year the market suddenly collapsed, and the industry was forced to curtail its work and dispense with crowds of its workmen. So uncertain and so treacherous is the hope of revenue derived from diamond mines.

As for the gold mines, they supply a steady and steadily expanding market, and there seems no reason to fear that the demand for bullion will

shrink. Yet in the five years following the war there was a depreciation in the market value of the shares of 102 Transvaal gold-mining Companies amounting, according to an authoritative computation, to £73,000,000. Such facts are surely ominous. Nor is this all. The gold-mining industry is rapidly growing, but it is only able to grow because working costs are being reduced, and though this is in itself satisfactory, it means that the net gain to the country is not so large as might appear. Thus in the year 1908 as compared with the preceding year the gold output increased by £2,554,000. During the same year the working costs were reduced from 25s. 2d. to 17s. 10d. per ton. In dividends alone there was an increase of £1,653,000, leaving only £900,000 to account for increase in profits other than dividends, and for additional expenditure on stores (mostly imported) and on salaries and wages. Indeed, according to the General Secretary of the Transvaal Miners' Association, the amount paid in wages to white men was very much less than in 1907, though the number of men was larger.

Of course nothing but praise is due to the leaders of the mining industry for managing their business with scrupulous economy, but an industry

which is reducing its wages account is not one which a Treasurer who cares for the future of the country can safely or prudently rely upon. For the time being a profits tax may be productive in such a case, but the general community gains little from the increased prosperity of share-holders, nearly all of whom live in other parts of the world, nor does this in any way tend to create more lasting industries to keep the exchequer supplied when the profits tax ceases to yield revenue. Fortunately South Africa has other resources besides gold and diamond mining, but these develop slowly, and will not for generations be strong enough to support the fabric of public and private expenditure erected on a foundation of hope derived from the mines, and there can be no doubt that the mining industry, great as it is, and great as its prospects are, must nevertheless be regarded as a temporary asset which even while it lasts cannot be expected to do for South Africa all that a more settled industry may do for the country in which it is located.

We have seen that South Africa, as a whole, is working on a deficit, and the considerations which we have now examined must surely convince the most careless that the country needs a surplus sufficient to enable it to devote a large proportion

of the mining revenue to the redemption of debt, at any rate until its liabilities have been reduced to dimensions commensurable with its prospects, exclusive of the prospect of revenue derived from gold and diamond mines.

The new constitution will not immediately improve the financial position. There have been cases of consolidation which have resulted in large economies in the cost of government. The federation of the Windward Islands, for instance, made considerable retrenchments possible. But South Africa is not so easy to deal with in this way. Carnarvon's scheme was pronounced mischievously costly in 1877, and now there is little reason for believing that the scheme propounded by the National Convention will do anything to cheapen administration. Not only is the arrangement about the divided capital likely to entail the duplication of much expenditure, but subsidies are to be paid to Bloemfontein and Maritzburg to compensate them for any loss which they may sustain owing to the partial concentration of government in Pretoria and Cape Town, and the payment of subsidies even to those two more fortunate cities is adumbrated in the draft constitution of the union. Nor is there any direct provision for economies

at all likely to outweigh these additional expenses. The hope that the constitution will bring about a great reduction in the expense of administration has therefore proved deceptive.

On the other hand the union promises the country financial benefits of a different and more important kind. The sweeping away of inter-colonial barriers and the substitution of uniformity for bewildering and harassing multiplicity means that industry and commerce will in future be far better able to breathe and expand, and while it is true that the new Parliament would be very ill-advised in despising the work of curtailing administrative expenditure, it is also true that the more important part of the task of national finance will be to secure the fullest advantages from the opportunity offered to industry by union, and to remove all the barriers to development which have been built up by mistaken financial policy in the past. The financial advantages offered by the draft constitution are rather positive than negative. It does not reduce administrative expenditure, but it creates a strong central authority which will be able to check extravagance; by the diversion of trade from Delagoa Bay it directly augments the revenue of South Africa, and by the emancipation of industry it clears the way for the opening up of

new sources of prosperity and of revenue. It remains for Parliament to seize upon these advantages and show that it knows how to make use of them.

The proper control of expenditure will be no slight task. There is a prospective deficit already, before the constitution has been adopted, and this prospect is enhanced by the fact that many temptations to fresh expenditure are already presenting themselves. Most of them are old and familiar enemies of prudence. As far back as 1862 the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that the House "while fully recognising the claims of all portions of the British Empire to Imperial aid in their protection against perils arising from the consequences of Imperial policy, is of opinion that colonies exercising the rights of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their external defence."

An Imperial garrison is still maintained in South Africa, costing nearly £2,000,000 a year, but this is not for South African purposes, though most South Africans are glad to have the troops among them. A very simple system of defence is sufficient to secure order in South Africa. It

would hardly be extravagant to say that, except for its coast, South Africa is sufficiently defended by the history of the Anglo-Boer war. However this may be, it has been repeatedly proved—twice quite recently on the borders of German South West Africa—that a handful of resolute men well armed, well mounted, well acquainted with the country, and accustomed to take the initiative are more effective in South Africa than thousands of much better drilled regulars, and if the great mass of the men of the country are ready at the call of necessity to swell the handful into a commando, and the commando into an army, the defence of South Africa is secure against any other army in the world.

Such a scheme of defence, providing for a small mobile police force, and holding in reserve the entire manhood of the nation, trained to ride and shoot and think beyond the immediate horizon, would have been the delight of statesmen such as Pitt and Wellington, and Palmerston and Disraeli, who never hesitated to assert their country's will abroad, but insisted that economy in times of peace is the condition of strength in time of war. But it offers no attractions to the eye of the statistician or the enthusiast, and so it comes about that we already hear of schemes for training 250,000 South

Africans as soldiers, and providing South Africa with a formidable force for which it has no use or desire, and the creation and maintenance of which will seriously embarrass its treasury, stiffen its taxes, and consequently stunt the growth of the population, on which far more than on any organisation the real military strength of the nation depends. It is to be hoped that the new Parliament will not be beguiled by the glamour of militarism into debilitating the nation by circumstantial preparations against non-existent enemies.

It is not difficult to perceive other avenues inviting to perilous extravagance. In the Transvaal there is free education already, and it will be difficult either to go back upon this or to limit it to the Transvaal. But the cost of extending it to the rest of the country may be gauged by the fact that in the Cape Colony alone the school fees actually paid amount to over £170,000 a year. Compulsory education, too, has long been kept back for financial reasons, despite urgent demands, especially from the country districts, and much remains to be done to bring education within the reach of all the European children. Native education also calls for further expenditure throughout South Africa.

Altogether it would be very easy for South Africa to increase its education estimates by £300,000 a year. Further large sums are needed for building and improving roads and bridges, for deep boring, for erecting and equipping hospitals, for agricultural research, and not least for collecting and publishing adequate statistics. All these things are in themselves good, but if the country is to have them, and also to pay its way as it should, it must make up an annual sum not unlikely to exceed £1,000,000, either by increased taxation, or by a reduction of administrative expenditure, or by a judicious combination of the two.

But there are plans of raiding the Treasury for very different purposes, which possess dangerously seductive powers. There is a vast Civil Service for easy politicians to befriend at the expense of the state. There are pension funds to neglect until enormous deficits have been incurred as an inheritance for future Treasurers. High officials may be tempted to measure their consequence by the scale of their expenditure, and will certainly evince undiminished zeal for maintaining the dignity of their positions when it has been enhanced by the change from colonial to national status. Indeed there is a danger that all South

Africa may be dazzled by the sudden transfiguration which substitutes for the modest incomes of the different colonies the imposing total of the national revenue.

The future happiness of the country will depend to a great extent on the strength and resolution of its first Treasurer, and of the finance committees of its first Parliament, for considering the resources and the requirements of the country it is certain that it will not be able to provide itself with necessities if it allows extravagance at the outset. Only by the most diligent and ruthless economy supplementing a determined and enlightened policy in regard to taxation, can it keep its debt within the bounds dictated by prudence, and supply itself with the means of development which it requires. And therefore every claim made upon the Treasury for improper expenditure, and every murmur against reasonable taxation must be met by the uncompromising demonstration that such claimants and murmurers can only be satisfied by stopping at some point or other the healthy growth of the South African nation. Fortunately South Africa is rich in the asset of the traditional simplicity of its people's manners, and if leading men appeal to this sound tradition the people will no doubt respond by a prolonged self-restraint which

will make possible the satisfactory management of national expenditure.

The problems of taxation will not be less difficult to solve in a manner corresponding to the ideals and principles which govern sound financial policy. There is a strong, though local, agitation against the excise on brandy in the Cape Colony, and for many years there has been a movement in the Transvaal for lightening the taxes which make living expensive, and for generally readjusting the incidence of taxation. Considering this, and considering that further taxation will be necessary in order to establish a surplus, provide for the amortization of the debt, and supply the country with the aids to development which it requires, it is obvious that matters cannot long be left as they are. Admitting that parsimony is the best of taxes, we are forced to allow that it will have to be supplemented.

The financial history of South Africa, extremely curious and extremely illuminating, is too little known. It is vaguely recognised that a large part of the public revenue is derived from the customs, and that direct taxation is generally regarded in South Africa as something of a novelty. But these things cannot be understood without reference to one or two facts of history. The

first is that there has never been an opportunity of subjecting the customs tariff to effective criticism in the Cape Parliament, where alone it might have been thoroughly overhauled.

Until the discovery of diamonds direct taxation, as now understood, was impossible, for communications were difficult and slow, and such wealth as there was was very widely diffused. After the discovery of diamonds, responsible government was granted, and the responsible ministers were preoccupied first with great schemes of railway construction and public works, and then with the agitations and wars which followed Carnarvon's accession to office. From 1880 to 1889 the country was struggling with financial difficulties, and since then the customs tariff of the Cape and the Free State has been fixed by negotiation and not by Parliament. Secondly, it must be remembered that, though recourse has been had more than once to direct taxation, nothing like the modern income tax has been applied to South Africa until quite recent times. The galling inconveniences of the old-fashioned direct taxes naturally produced discontent, and as soon as prosperity revived they were swept away before there was time to consider the reform of the customs tariff.

The result is that South Africa now has a tariff which has never really run the gauntlet of Parliament, and which is the product far more of circumstance than of principles or convictions. Hitherto it has been protected against its enemies, but there are many fierce eyes fixed upon it, and it remains to be seen what will become of it when for the first time it is exposed to the wolves of free debate in the new Parliament.

Two things are generally agreed upon in South Africa. First, the tariff must produce revenue. Secondly, it must, for a time at any rate, protect those of the country's weaker industries which have a national importance. But the tariff is inflated with multitudes of petty imposts which yield little more than the cost of collection, and which cost merchants and the public more in time and trouble than in customs dues. Hundreds of items on the tariff might be swept away with little loss to the Treasury, and great gain to the public.

As regards the future, it is not unlikely that the cause of free trade will advance. When an industry begins to export, its interests are opposed to protection, and in such matters opinions and interests generally tend to coincide. The whole mining industry tends to favour free trade. The pastoral industry, which already

exports wool and feathers and mohair and hides and skins, having at last driven imported meat out of all but a corner of the home market, has ceased to have any great interest in protection. The export of maize, oats, and lucerne has begun. There is every reason to believe that within a few years the country will supply its own demands in the way of eggs and dairy produce. It is therefore probable that before long the interests of both the mining industry and the farmers, other than the wine and wheat farmers, will be on the side of free trade.

The protection of the wine farmer does not tend to make living necessarily expensive, and is not likely to be seriously disputed. If wheat stands alone, it cannot be long before some alternative to protection by means of the customs is very seriously considered. The interests of the farmers and the miners will then be completely identified as far as the tariff is concerned, and it is not unlikely that the next generation of farmers will be as staunch to free trade as the older generations have been to protection. The attitude of the farmers in the United States and Canada lends probability to this conjecture. Hitherto the protection of the farmer has been justified in the eyes of many by the special difficulties which have

embarrassed him, particularly in consequence of war, and the protection of the farmer has necessitated the protection of industries in the towns. How far it will be possible in the future to expedite the growth of industrialism by protective tariffs without hampering the elementary productive powers of the country, and thus checking the natural growth of the people, it must be left to the future to decide.

No doubt, in deciding the question account will have to be taken of existing conditions, and the evil and injustice caused by sudden reversals of policy will be recognised, and as far as possible avoided. But for the present there is no necessity to debate the comparative merits of free trade and protection; for the work which lies to hand is that of abolishing multitudes of small and vexatious duties which neither produce much revenue nor sensibly protect industry, but which choke up the stream of commerce, and so keep back the natural expansion of the country. Here, at any rate, protectionists and free traders may well join hands.

It may be necessary while doing this work to stiffen up some of the revenue duties, and also the protective duties. If this is done then the customs revenue will be at least as large as it is now, and far more buoyant. But we have already seen that

South Africa has genuine needs which prudent finance will endeavour to satisfy in order to stimulate the country's productive powers and reduce the debt to manageable size, and which, even if the severest economy is exercised in administration, may demand in the near future as much as £1,000,000 a year, to which must be added the amount of the railway surplus doomed by the constitution to extinction. Even supposing that the tariff is not altered in such a way as to reduce the yield of the customs revenue, it is plain that further taxation will be required. Revenue might be raised by an excise duty on tobacco or by a state tobacco monopoly, and it is far more likely that an excise duty will be imposed on wine than that the present duty on brandy will be reduced. But it is tolerably certain that after all increased direct taxation will be inevitable.

A good deal can be done with little difficulty. The Cape income tax is now very severe, but it does not apply to incomes derived from sources outside the colony, nor are landed proprietors assessed on the value of urban property on which they reside. There are no estate duties in South Africa, and no house duties levied by the state. If moderate estate and house duties were imposed and the other

direct taxes now in existence in any part of South Africa were applied to the whole country at the same rate as the highest at which they now stand in any part of it, it is certain that the additional yield would be very considerably in excess of £1,000,000 a year. It ought not, therefore, to be impossible for a South African Treasurer to frame a budget which will give substantial relief through the customs in the manner described, and which by the help of direct taxes applied at a uniform rate over the whole country, and not unduly burdensome to any part of it, will yield a revenue sufficient to meet the requirements of the state. It should also be possible to twist taxing measures, necessitated and justified by purely financial considerations, into a scourge for the back of prodigality, and make them serve incidentally as an inducement to simplicity of life. A good budget must naturally be a drastic sumptuary law. It would be superfluous to add that the framing of such a budget would be no light undertaking, and that it would be impossible to carry it through unless the spirit of Parliament were both enlightened and patriotic.

Direct taxation has in the past given rise to not inconsiderable controversies between the Imperial and the colonial authorities. The Imperial

Chancellor of the Exchequer naturally taxes income derived by inhabitants of the United Kingdom from investments made outside the country. Seeing that these investments amount to something like £3,000,000,000, fully half of which has gone to British Colonies and possessions, it is impossible to question the justice of making the income derived from them contribute towards the maintenance of the government which protects their owners in their enjoyment of it. A similar principle must be held to justify colonies in taxing absentee companies and individuals doing business within their borders. Nevertheless many questions in regard to the operation of these admitted principles can only be solved by the exercise of patience and forbearance on both sides.

There are even more complicated questions which arise in connection with death duties, for if a man resident in England has shares in a company carrying on business in South Africa, it is easy for the South African government to tax his income, but it is not nearly so easy to tax his capital when he dies. Yet it is clear that he owns property in South Africa, and it is not unnatural that his estate should pay death duties.

For some years past there has been a one-sided

arrangement between the United Kingdom and the Cape, each Government foregoing all claim to death duties on the estates of persons who die in the other's territory. Of course the number of Englishmen who die owning property in South Africa is incomparably larger than the number of South Africans who die owning property in England. The Cape has therefore terminated this arrangement, but the collection of duties levied on the estates of absentees will be very difficult when the property in question is represented by scrip, and it is probable that there will have to be fresh negotiations and a fresh agreement dealing with this point. It is worth noticing that the general tendency to rely more on direct taxation is leading to international treaties designed to bring about co-operation between different governments in collecting their revenues. It will not be astonishing if the rise of direct taxation in South Africa leads to a similar arrangement between South Africa and the United Kingdom.

The importance of reducing the debt has already been mentioned, and need not be insisted upon afresh. The constitution provides for pooling all debts and all assets. No doubt the stocks will be consolidated as opportunity offers. It will be no small advantage to the country if South Africans

can be encouraged to take up and hold national stock. At present a considerable part of the debt is held by South African governments on behalf of various trust funds, but very little indeed is held by individual South Africans.

Some years ago the Italians set about buying up their stock from foreign holders, and now very little of their stock is held abroad. The government might do much to promote a similar tendency in South Africa, by offering enticements particularly to the small investor, especially when a new loan is being floated. The present moment would be opportune for launching such a policy, as capital is plentiful in South Africa, and the accumulations in the banks are large. The experience of France shows that the small investor gives strength and stability to stock, and moreover it is difficult to exaggerate the good effects indirectly resulting from a system which makes many men all over the country creditors of the nation.

We can now see the controlling elements in the situation which will confront the first Treasurer of South Africa, and the main lines which sound financial policy will prescribe for the nation to follow. He will find that South Africa has set out with a considerable deficit, and that further expenditure is required for accelerating the repay-

ment of debt, and for educational improvements and other means of expediting the development of the country.

The constitution will provide, not indeed for any automatic reduction of expenditure but for effective control over the spending departments, for some increase of revenue and for the abolition of many obstacles to expansion. It will be necessary to curtail expenditure on administration and defence with a jealous rigour, to sweep away large numbers of trumpery duties which encumber the customs tariff without either yielding any substantial revenue to the treasury or affording any real protection to the producer, to devise a justly balanced scheme of uniform and moderate direct taxes, in the collection of which it may be necessary to negotiate for the co-operation of the Imperial Government, and finally to set on foot a movement for bringing the national stocks into South African hands.

Happy is the country which owes a debt to many of its sons and has no other creditor. And thrice happy is the finance minister who knows that if he appeals to the spirit of sober patriotism and to the traditions of austere simplicity he will not appeal in vain.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE COLOURED RACES

THERE is hardly any South African question which is not complicated by the fact that South Africa is neither an exclusively white man's country nor an exclusively black man's country. In the past the native question has been the root of immense trouble; in the present it is an anxious and perplexing problem; over the future it throws a cloud of impenetrable mystery.

All agree that it is the most difficult and the most important of South African questions. It is further becoming apparent that it is the most critical part of one of the chief ethnical problems concerning the whole world. For the question of the future of the South African native is one in which all mankind has an interest, not only because all civilised nations have some direct responsibilities

in Africa, either as partners in the sovereignty of the continent or as signatories to such international agreements as that which established the Congo State, but also because the African natives form one of the great branches of the human race, so that their fortune cannot be a matter of indifference either to London and Washington or to Yokohama and Pekin. But as the empty spaces of the world are shrinking it is becoming impossible for any race to exist in solitude, and the crisis in the fate of the African native is reached when he comes into contact with other men and meets the test of competition.

In the United States there are more Africans than in South Africa, but there they are an exotic, wrenched away from the parent stem, whereas in South Africa they form an integral part of the dark population of the continent, and are connected with some of the races of the interior by ties which cannot always be traced, but which nevertheless impart to them an added strength and stability. For this reason, if for no other, the native question in South Africa is more important than the negro question in the United States, the only other country which has to deal on a large scale with the question of the African races in contact with the races of Europe.

One of the last speeches made by Mr. Roosevelt as President of the United States showed how broad this question is, and how wide the sphere in which it is felt. In dealing with it South Africa is the First Minister of civilised humanity. The responsibility is heavy, and the world owes her at least some sympathy as she grapples with this tremendous problem and endeavours to discharge the chief part of the duty of mankind in the dark continent.

It has always been recognised that if South Africa is federated the native question must be in the hands of the central authority. Lord Kimberley insisted on this as early as 1870, and there has never been any dispute on the point, although in 1875 the Cape Ministry urged that the circumstances of different parts of South Africa varied, so that a uniform native policy might be inadvisable. Uniformity does not, however, necessarily follow from unity. A single purpose need not neglect diversity of conditions. On the contrary a common design will more naturally produce various shapes when it works among various circumstances. But South Africa must unite its forces if it is to supply sufficient wisdom, knowledge and resolution to deal rightly with the native question in all its different forms. It is

therefore to be regretted that the draft constitution apparently proposes to hand over the control of native school education, perhaps the most momentous part of the native question, to Provincial Councils constituted with a view to purely local considerations.

It will be well to preface the discussion of the native question by a plain statement of certain facts. The following table shows how the population of South Africa was composed in 1904, when the last census was taken:—

POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

|                       | European. | Coloured. | Total.    |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Cape Colony .....     | 579,741   | 1,830,063 | 2,409,804 |
| Transvaal .....       | 297,277   | 972,674   | 1,269,951 |
| Orange River Colony   | 142,679   | 244,636   | 387,315   |
| Natal .....           | 97,109    | 1,011,645 | 1,108,754 |
| <hr/>                 |           |           |           |
| Total .....           | 1,116,806 | 4,059,018 | 5,175,824 |
| (four Colonies)       |           |           |           |
| Basutoland .....      | 895       | 347,953   | 348,848   |
| Bechuanaland          |           |           |           |
| Protectorate ....     | 1,004     | 119,772   | 120,776   |
| Swaziland .....       | 890       | 84,601    | 85,491    |
| <hr/>                 |           |           |           |
| Total .....           | 2,789     | 552,326   | 555,115   |
| (three protectorates) |           |           |           |
| Southern Rhodesia     | 12,623    | 593,141   | 605,764   |
| <hr/>                 |           |           |           |
| Grand Total .....     | 1,132,218 | 5,204,485 | 6,336,703 |

The vast majority of the coloured population consists of natives (including Hottentots), but in 1904 there were also some 290,000 persons of mixed race in the Cape Colony and 101,000 Indians in Natal. Apart from these there were no large coloured communities in any of the colonies, but particular mention should perhaps be made of the 15,000 or 16,000 Malays in the Cape Colony. The Chinese miners have for the most part both come and gone since the census, and are now of little interest to anyone except historians.

These figures show that there is a very large native population in all parts of South Africa, a considerable half-caste population in the Cape Colony, and a considerable Indian population in Natal; while other elements in the coloured population, however curious and interesting, are hardly large enough to arrest much general attention in normal times. The figures also show how marked is the preponderance of the Cape Colony in regard to coloured as well as white population. More than half the white people of South Africa are Cape Colonists, and more than a third of the coloured. In Southern Rhodesia there are more dark-skinned men than in the three protectorates together, and in Cape Colony there are three times as many as in Southern Rhodesia. South Africa

must be regarded as a whole, but these figures are worth noticing if only as a warning to those who think that the native question is little more than a question of the protectorates and Zululand, and forget that the statesmen of Cape Colony have very considerably more experience of South African natives and coloured people than those of any other state in South Africa, not excluding the Imperial authorities themselves.

The natives of South Africa are a remarkable people. They are sometimes referred to as aborigines, and sometimes compared with the negroes of America—erroneously, either way. The original South African was not the Kafir, nor even the Hottentot, but the Bushman, who appears to have inhabited the country for centuries, but has now almost completely disappeared. His history, little known as it is, is calculated to excite strong and conflicting feelings; fortunately it need not be discussed here. The Hottentots, stronger than the Bushmen, are yet too weak to flourish in the presence of more powerful races, and they, too, are ceasing to be a distinctive people. But the Kafir is in South Africa as a conqueror, and he is not to be understood unless this fact is remembered. The hottest opponent of militarism will recognise what it implies, namely that the Bantu as a people

have proved their mettle. It is not less important to remember that they have never been slaves, a fact of which they are keenly conscious. They are only now beginning to taste European civilisation, but at least they have not been corrupted by the degrading apprenticeship of slavery, and they look out upon the modern world with the eyes of men whose fathers have bequeathed to them an indefeasible title to the heritage of freedom. In short, the Kafir has all the manly instincts of a race with a proud history.

The half-castes, or coloured people, as they are generally called, have more civilisation, though not more character. They are showing good capacity as artisans, and although their position as the lower class in the towns, the dubious origin of their race, and the absence of such primitive but effective discipline as controls the Kafirs in their tribal state do not conduce to high standards of life, it cannot be said to have been proved that they are essentially lacking in the moral qualities which distinguish strong and virile peoples. The Malays, too, exhibit not only intelligence, but perseverance and industry. Crime is almost unknown among them, and drunkenness unheard of. They are, however, a strangely contented people, and do not possess the insistent enterprise

and audacity which lead to fortune. As regards the Indians in South Africa, few of them are really settled. Almost all come for a little time, and then return to the East. To be sure, there are exceptions, but on the whole the Indian section of the community, considerable as it is, especially in Natal, hardly claims a place in the South African family.

There is still much groundless fear of the native. Not long ago an ingenious alarmist calculated that before the end of the present century there will be thirty million black men in South Africa and only two million white. It is sufficient to say that such calculations usually proceed on the hypothesis that circumstances will not influence the birth rate among the native people, and that economic pressure will have no effect on the habits of the Europeans. In 1905 there were rumours of serious unrest among the coloured races in the South West of the Cape Colony, and it was found necessary to despatch contingents of police in order to ascertain that there was no substantial foundation for alarm to rest upon. In Natal and Zululand the case has been different, but the Natal Native Commission has proved that the natives there have been much provoked by unscrupulous individuals. The same must be said

of what is sometimes known as the black peril. Crimes of violence are less common among the natives than among most labouring classes.

The South African Press is not slow to mark what is done amiss by the natives, but its pages are pale compared to the lurid stream which daily gushes from the Press in England'; and considering that in all the large South African towns most of the rough labour is done by young natives who have been incited to leave their homes for the purpose of finding work, and who are therefore without any of the salutary restraints imposed by home life whether in a palace or in a kraal, it is astonishing that the number of assaults is not far greater than it is. Hideous in its nature and consequences, the black peril is very small in volume compared to the white peril. What there is of it ought surely to be dealt with not by fitful acts of vindictiveness, but by deliberately removing, as far as they can be removed, the causes which create and maintain it.

More disquieting, perhaps, than the fear of mutiny or violence is the fear of what is known as the Ethiopian movement. There certainly are a few natives, mostly the product of indifferent training in some of the least reputed of the Universities of the United States, who feed their minds on a

theoretical disaffection, pondering the proposition that Africa belongs by natural law to the dark races. But such suggestions can only appeal to a very few. Uneducated men cannot understand them. Educated men cannot long escape the knowledge that their teaching is contradicted alike by history and by common sense. And therefore disaffection of this kind is not a formidable form of folly, for it can never touch either the heart or the brain of the people.

The Native Affairs Commission which investigated the whole question four or five years ago, found that the Ethiopian movement was not alarming, and this judgment meets with the assent of almost all South Africans experienced in native affairs. If there is danger to white South Africa in black South Africa it is economic and not military or political, and there can be no economic danger unless there is serious inefficiency on the part of the European. Those, therefore, who believe in the European stock will not be quick to lend their ears to the fables of panic-mongers which have no substantial basis in fact unless there be some radical flaw in the white man.

Equally unjust are the undiscriminating suspicions of the native policy of white South Africans which are sometimes entertained and expressed in

England and elsewhere. In 1877 the old Lord Grey, the author of that cross-legged form of constitution known as Government with Representative Institutions, whereby Ministers nominated by the Crown were left to struggle with Parliaments representing the people, declaimed against granting Responsible Government to South Africa on the ground that it was impossible to enfranchise all the natives, and that Responsible Government is a great tyranny where only a section of the population is represented, and expressed the fear that a great war of races was inevitable in South Africa. No doubt some colour is given to this view by violent utterances, like that of the South African Mayor who declared that his political motto was all whites against all blacks.

But such excesses are not unknown in older countries. Lord Cardwell at once replied to Lord Grey, declaring that in his opinion Responsible Government would lead to a juster treatment of the natives, and there is much more to corroborate this view than Lord Grey's. To begin with, justice is compelled to record that of the native troubles in South Africa a generous share is directly due to Imperial authorities. It was a High Commissioner who embarked on the policy of disarming the natives which brought about so many native

wars, which kept Basutoland in unrest for years, and which at last had to be abandoned. It was a Secretary of State who alarmed the natives throughout South Africa by the form of his Confederation scheme in 1875. It was the Cape Ministry which protested that the danger of a general native rising was imaginary, and it was Sir John Akerman, of the Natal Parliament, who summed up the results of Carnarvon's policy by the assertion that "on a platform of ten millions of pounds had been raised a hecatomb of ten thousand human bodies in support of the policy of Confederation."

Moreover, the administration of native affairs in Natal when it was under the direct control of Downing Street was quite as harsh as it has been since. In more recent times natives and their friends in Basutoland and Bechuanaland have sighed aloud for the more liberal policy of native education which is to be found in the Cape. Altogether the supposition that what is done in the interests of the native is done by the Imperial Government, and what is done against their interests is done by South Africans, would appear to be a fiction.

It must indeed be admitted that justice is not always done to natives in South Africa. There

have been ugly cases in which juries have refused to convict white men for assaults on natives in Rhodesia, in Natal, in the Orange River Colony, and even in the Cape Colony. All these have been exposed and denounced by South Africans, but it would be an insincerity to affect to underestimate their seriousness. At the same time it would be equally wrong to pretend that they represent the view of responsible South Africans or of the white people as a whole. Even when they appear most harsh, the practices approved by men of any consequence in South Africa are not indefensible. None of these practices was more open to question than the system of apprenticeship which was permitted to exist in the republics a generation ago ; yet Froude at any rate not only approved of it, but advocated it in South Africa with so much eloquence that a deputation from Grahams Town, where Froude had been speaking, waited on Mr. Merriman, then a member of Sir John Molteno's Ministry, and entreated the Government to introduce a scheme of compulsory labour.

The Government declined, but the Secretary of State did not consider that this incident disqualified Froude for acting as his personal representative. Bishop Colenso, certainly a staunch friend of the

natives, wrote: "Here are the English papers reaching us full of ravings about the treachery, cruelty, blood-thirstiness, etc., of the Boers, of which, when the facts are thoroughly known and fairly considered, hardly a trace remains."

In 1880 Sir Bartle Frere wrote: "The general temper of the European colonists, when not excited, is the reverse of cruel. They have more patience and toleration, I think, as a rule, for native shortcomings than people fresh from Europe." And in an address to the Colonial Institute he was even more emphatic. "I am convinced that a very few months of sojourn in South Africa would convert any reasonable observer to the conviction at which I have myself long since arrived, that in South Africa, and especially in the legislature of the Cape of Good Hope, there may be found men as thoroughly conscientious in their dealings with the natives, as influential in their own legislature, as fully alive to the best interests of the natives, and as determined to secure those interests, as far as they can be secured by Government action, as any member of the Imperial Parliament, whilst, of course, they possess infinitely greater superiority in the knowledge of the facts of the case, and of the real requirements of all concerned. I will therefore only

conclude by once more expressing my deliberate conviction that the best interests of the natives in the Cape Colony are quite as safe in the keeping of the Cape Parliament as they could be in that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom."

At the present time all the men who have most power in South Africa hold temperate, if not liberal, views about the natives. General Botha, in the statement of his policy which he made immediately after his accession to office, announced that he should pursue a moderate course designed to develop the natives on sound lines. In the Orange River Colony Mr. Steyn has openly declared for a liberal policy. In the Cape Colony Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer, the chief of his colleagues, maintain a tradition of life-long devotion to the proved policy of the Cape, and outside Parliament a potent influence is exercised by Mr. Hofmeyr, who has repeatedly shown that the natives may safely rely upon him. In 1908 Mr. Theron, Chairman of the Afrikaander Bond, died. At his graveside the minister of his church told how for many years Mr. Theron had quietly cared for the coloured people of the Karoo village where he lived, and when they had no other minister had himself conducted religious services for them. In Natal, too, the Govern-

ment has shown its good intentions, notably by the appointment of a Commission of investigation and by sending some of the most active of the native leaders to examine the working of the Cape system in the native territories east of the Kei.

On the whole, there is a strong tendency towards a mild native policy in South Africa. To ignore this and to back the suggestion that natives should look over the sea for friends, would be to alienate local sympathy and check its growth; and on the other hand the best service that English friends of the natives can do to their cause is to abstain from interference, and to emphasise the symptoms which indicate that white South Africa is recognising its responsibilities and is becoming increasingly determined to do justice. Happily for the natives, many of their most influential friends in all parts of the world are well aware of these facts.

The general attitude of South Africans towards the coloured population naturally decides their policy in all questions concerning any section of it. Before considering the questions concerning the natives and coloured people, it may be well to examine the Asiatic question, which is in several ways distinct. It is an old question in South Africa. The descendants of the slaves introduced

from the Malay States in the eighteenth century have now become an integral part of the population, but though they have mixed their blood with that of other races, they maintain their distinctive religion, dress, and manners, and as late as 1866 a curious correspondence appeared in official publications showing that the Porte had appointed a member of the Cape Parliament as its representative in Cape Town to assist the Malays in a period of financial distress.

One of the leading Malays, Imaum Hadje Magadien, actually wrote to the Governor and enclosed a letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, asking for some recognition by the Porte of the services of its representative in Cape Town. The Governor forwarded the letter to Downing Street, but declined to ask the Sultan's Government to assist in the relief of the poor in Cape Town, and the Secretary of State replied that he could not be a party to forwarding an application for marks of distinction from the Turkish Government. This strange incident might suggest that the Malays are too good Mohammedans to be good South Africans, but the inference would be unjust.

With the Indians the case is different; the importation of Indians did not begin until com-

munications had become easy and cheap, and it would hardly be too much to say that, except perhaps in Natal, there is no permanent Indian settlement in South Africa.

The Asiatic question is in two parts—one concerning the importation of indentured Asiatics, the other concerning the influx of Asiatic immigrants. More than once proposals have been made for importing indentured Asiatics to work on the farms in the Cape Colony, but these have never had any practical result. In Natal it was otherwise. Numbers of coolies were imported to work the tea-plantations, and some of these remained after the period of their indenture was over. So important was the system of indentured labour considered by the tea-planters, and so much was it disliked in the rest of the country, that during the great war Sir John Robinson, the first Prime Minister of Natal, declared that it was a bar to the union of South Africa. It is worth observing that the view of the Natal tea-planters is shared by German advocates of colonial expansion, for at the German Colonial Congress in 1907 it was resolved that Indians could not be expelled from German East Africa without injury to the economic life of the Colony.

In fact, the dispute was one of principle between

those who regarded the Colonies as mere producers of wealth and those who regarded them as the home of a young nation. In Natal the Indian population has grown so rapidly, in consequence of the indenture system, that it now outnumbers the European population, and it is said that two-thirds of the stores in Natal, including some of the largest, are owned and managed by Indians. But the Natal Parliament has at last decided to put a stop to the importation of Asiatics, and therefore this part of the question may be said to have been closed.

The experience of Asiatic immigration was the main cause of the profound and vehement apprehension excited in South Africa by the importation of indentured Chinese for the Rand mines. How deep and intense the feelings which prompted the South African opposition to that policy were is known only to those who were in touch with the rural population at the time. How much South Africa owes to it will never be known. There were at one time some 54,000 Chinese on the Rand. The last will be gone before the new constitution can be proclaimed; and thus the policy of importing indentured Asiatics into South Africa may now be said to have been definitely abandoned.

There remains the question of Asiatics who immigrate, or have settled, spontaneously. There is a strong feeling, especially in the towns, that the immigration of Asiatics should be stopped, and that those who are already in the country should be strictly controlled. This feeling is mainly due to the alarm of small traders, who find themselves unable to compete with the Asiatics. But it is reinforced in the minds of responsible men by the experience that as a rule the Asiatics do not settle in the country, but come for a few years and afterwards return to Asia with their savings. The records of the money transactions of the Post Office show that a large sum is annually drained away from South Africa to India in this way. It is difficult to resist the conviction that in a country like South Africa it is right to prevent the extrusion of genuine settlers by Asiatics whose definite object is exploitation and not settlement. This principle is now generally conceded, and the Colonies are therefore free to exclude Asiatics.

The question of the treatment of Asiatics who are actually in the country and do not wish to leave it is much simplified by the elimination of the questions of indentured labour and Asiatic immigration. If these are once out of the way and South Africa is free to take whatever steps are necessary to

prevent their reappearance, there is not likely to be any serious difficulty about Asiatics in the country. Those who remain permanently will probably become, like the Malays, loyal to South Africa, and separate only in traditions and customs. There is a general disposition to treat with consideration all who have really settled in South Africa, and thus the question of the Indians, like that of the Malays, may come to be only a part of the general problem of the coloured population, of which the Asiatics are likely in the future to form a not undistinguished part.

So much sentiment attaches to the native question that its discussion is seldom illuminated by clear thinking. Yet there is no subject which more urgently calls for the piercing rays of truth. A breath is sufficient to dismiss policies which pay no regard to the interests of the natives, for they fail to allow for essential facts, and are therefore impracticable, and only tend to defeat their own ends.

But apart from such absurdities, the direction of native policy is claimed by two great principles, which at first appear to help each other, but afterwards violently conflict. The first is that of protection; the second is that of development. If native policy is guided by the ideal of develop-

ment it will, as long as the native is in a primitive condition, prescribe measures for protecting him against himself and others; but it will never be satisfied with them, and will always look to the day when the native is ready to assume the responsibilities of manhood, including the control of himself. On the other hand, if the thought of protection dominates, it may suggest the education of the natives; but it recoils from the consequence, and ends by a collision with the objects of its care when it endeavours to restrict their adult impulses within barricades proper only to the nursery. There is thus a radical antagonism, long latent, but none the less essential, between the policy of equal rights and the policy of cloistered virtue. The latter protests the more loudly, but there is no doubt that it is far the nearer to the policy which disregards native interests altogether.

However, for a time at any rate and in some degree the protection of the native is necessary and is common cause to the rival policies, which therefore make their first appearance in coalition. The most definitely protective measure which has been devised on the native's behalf is the creation of reserves, which are secured to him against European enterprise or cupidity and his own weakness. Some of these are under direct Imperial control,

and the Bechuanaland Protectorate receives an annual grant in aid amounting to some £40,000.

Some apprehension has been expressed in Basutoland at the prospect of being transferred from Imperial to South African hands, but this is, no doubt, due to the unhappy circumstances under which Basutoland passed from the control of the Cape after years of war, for which, however, the colonists were not more responsible than the Governor. It is fair to remember what Sir Henry Barkly wrote in 1876 of Basutoland, then under the Cape: "Probably no administration of native affairs in any part of the world has been attended with greater comparative success, and there can be few more gratifying spectacles than that of a tribe numbering some 150,000 souls, who a few years ago were the terror of their neighbours, living peacefully, contentedly and prosperously under the rule of half a dozen magistrates of European extraction, unsupported for some time past by a single white policeman." This testimony and the present condition of the Transkei clearly show that the principle of the native reserve can be successfully carried out by South Africans.

In 1906 Sir Charles Dilke and others presented a memorial to the Imperial Government urging that the existing protectorates should be under the

direct control of the Crown; but the approach of union has changed the situation, and in 1908 the House of Commons unanimously resolved, at Sir Charles Dilke's suggestion, "That this House, recognising signs of a growing opinion, on the part of the self-governing Colonies of South Africa, in favour of safeguarding the rights and future of the natives in any scheme of political unification or federation, expresses its confidence that His Majesty's Government will welcome the adoption of provisions calculated to render possible the ultimate inclusion of British South Africa in federal union." This motion reads strangely, but its form, as originally put upon the paper, shows it to mean that the House of Commons looks forward to the inclusion of the protectorates in the Union.

Much of the best land in South Africa is in the native reserves, and cannot be alienated. This allows native tribes to live and multiply without interference on the part of Europeans. As the reserves become full, the people feel the pressure of economic necessity, and it is believed that this must result in less slovenly cultivation and in an increase in the number of natives who go to the labour centres in search of work. It is certain that the maintenance of the system makes for peace, since it is agreed that the native would not quietly

allow himself to be dispossessed of his land even by the system of voluntary purchase, nor is it easy to suppose that peace would be secure if hordes of landless natives were scattered about the country. Accordingly the system is accepted, and the reserves are made into regular native nurseries, where everything possible is done to shield the people from bad influences. It is, however, very questionable whether this system can be indefinitely maintained. For better, for worse, individual tenure of land is gradually taking the place of tribal tenure; if natives are encouraged to go to the labour market and earn money for themselves this tendency is bound to go on, and it would not be safe to assume that the principle of the inalienability of land to Europeans will long survive the introduction of the system of individual tenure.

Next to the system of reserves the most striking point in the protection of the natives is the prohibition of the sale of strong drink to them. It is well to remember that Lord Carnarvon's London Conference in 1876 agreed that natives should have a moderate quantity of liquor, but that great care must be exercised in carrying out this provision. Nevertheless, the sale of liquor is prohibited in all the reserves, and in 1908 the Cape Parliament,

finding that natives were importing into the territories large quantities of certain patent medicines for the sake of the alcohol which is an important ingredient in them, passed a law putting a stop to this traffic. Outside the reserves the sale of liquor to natives is prohibited in the greater part of South Africa, though not in the Cape, where, however, licensing courts are empowered to impose special restrictions on the sale of liquor to aboriginal natives. The advantage of this restrictive system must not be exaggerated. It is impossible to control the making of Kafir beer, which is sometimes decidedly alcoholic, and the native makes himself stimulants not less noxious than wine brandy from prickly pears, honey, and golden syrup. The attempt to prohibit the sale of liquor to natives also results in a flourishing illicit traffic throughout the country, and it sometimes seems that the main effect of the system is to make white people criminals in order to make black people hypocrites.

The alternative policy would be that of the Carnarvon Conference. Yet when a similar policy was proposed by the Transvaal Government there was so alarming an outcry in England that the project was dropped and smuggling continued. An attempt is being made in Natal to regulate the manufacture and distribution of Kafir beer, and

the results of this deserve watching. But the most notable breach in the wall of liquor restrictions was made by Mr. Hofmeyr, who induced the Cape Parliament to pass an Act exempting such natives as are registered voters, and must therefore have some property and some education, from all special legislation, including that contained in the liquor laws. The motives which induced Parliament to pass this Act may be a fair matter for dispute, but it is certain that the Act is the highest flight of a liberal native policy, which aims not only at restraining the native, but at teaching him to restrain himself. On the whole, it appears that the policy of prohibition is extremely questionable, except in the reserves, where it produces few evil consequences, strict control of the liquor traffic being possible, and fits in with the general policy on which the existence of the reserves depends.

Another attempt to protect the native has taken the form of laws designed to limit usury. These are too recent for their effects to have become apparent. The history of usury laws has not, as a rule, been happy, and although the native may be relied on as much as anyone else to pay his debts if he can, he is liable to many accidents, and lending money to him is certainly risky. Moreover, he often needs accommodation, whether he

is a small farmer sharing the experiences of small farmers all over the world, or a labourer anxious to make his way to some labour-centre. All this was fully recognised by the authors of the legislation designed to check usury. On the other hand, there have been outrageous cases of plundering natives in the name of money-lending, and these certainly seem to justify the attempt made to protect the native in this particular.

A not less effective method of helping the native is the system of encouraging and assisting him to find work. For several years the potential supply of rough labourers in South Africa has been in excess of the demand, but there has also been a demand for farm-labour which has not been met. The magistrates and the leading officials have joined in making the path easy for the Kafir who desires work. No doubt this is in the interest of others as well as of the Kafir, but it deserves mention as part of the general policy which aims at the protection of the native.

It may be thought that the native's lot is happy enough if he is secured in the possession of his lands, preserved from the snares of the liquor dealer and the money-lender, and assisted to find work when he requires it. But there is another side to the picture. There is, after all, a consider-

able element of truth in the pedagogic theory propounded by Mr. Anthony Weller in the "Pickwick Papers," when he said that he took a good deal of pains over his son's education, having allowed him to run in the streets when he was very young and shift for himself. This, if extreme, is not more so than the theory of the reserves which locks the natives in and the world out, but periodically shoots out numbers of young men about twenty years of age to find work far away from their homes in the great industrial centres. It is hardly surprising that under these circumstances the health of the natives is showing signs of deterioration, and that syphilis and tuberculosis have taken root in the kraals to which these young men return.

Nor is this all. The theory of the reserves is based on the hypothesis that the native is an inferior being demanding special treatment. A whole system of native laws springs from this principle. Missionaries ask Parliament for exceptional powers to deal with the people in their mission stations. In some parts of South Africa natives are not permitted to own land. In the towns the native labourers are compelled to live in separate locations, usually in the form of barracks. Discrimination is made against

them in the Workmen's Compensation Acts of the Cape and the Transvaal. Coloured people ask in vain to be allowed to form voluntary corps. Pass laws and curfew laws for natives alone abound. Drastic measures are passed to prevent the natives from living in idleness on other people's farms and from trespassing. Punishments sometimes little less than ferocious are dealt out for stock-theft, the native's besetting sin. Impediments are put in the way of his ox-waggon, which carries so cheaply that the railway cannot compete with it.

Almost all these things are necessary, and are thoroughly justified by present conditions. But to regard them as in themselves satisfactory, and to admire a protection policy inspired by a principle which leads to all these other consequences hardly seems to be the part of the natives' friend. It would rather seem to be the work of wise policy, not indeed to discontinue special arrangements as long as the condition of the natives calls for them, but to concentrate effort on the alteration of those elements in the condition of the natives which make them necessary.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the maintenance of special protection implies inferiority, and lends immense weight to the arguments of

those who would keep the natives in an inferior position. The only satisfactory solution of this difficulty is to recognise frankly that special protection is inconsistent with equality, and that it is merely a temporary measure designed to tide over the period while the native is being raised to a state in which he will renounce special protection, and claim equal rights on his own merits.

The excellence of the native policy of the Cape has been very generally recognised. When Carnarvon's Bill was before the House of Commons the House inserted a clause providing that, while the Crown should be empowered to annex new territory to the Cape by Order in Council, this power should not be given in the case of Natal, then practically a Crown colony. But the distinctive character of the Cape's native policy is not so widely understood, and as a result English opinion on native affairs is too often vague or even altogether misdirected. The distinctive characteristic of Cape policy is that it aims at developing, and is not content with repressing or protecting the natives, and that it not only pursues this aim, but also accepts the logical conclusion, and prepares for the developed native a place worthy of a grown man and a citizen. Accordingly it is in the Cape that we find the greatest activity in native

education, the strongest growth of native local self-government, and finally the native franchise.

The importance of native education has always been plain to South African statesmen. Fifty years ago the Fingoes of Grahams Town sent a petition to Queen Victoria urging that Sir George Grey should not be recalled. "He built us great schools," they declared, "that our children might enter them, and learn nicely like the children of English people."

Not only at the Cape, but also in the Orange River Colony and elsewhere the natives are anxious for education. This fact has sometimes been exaggerated. The native parent is not regular in the payment of school fees, even where the curious system obtains of charging all parents the same fee, without regard to the size of the family, but as a whole the people cheerfully submit to a school rate, and the consequence is that there is now free education in large parts of the native territories, whereas in the rest of the Cape Colony that great boon has not yet been granted. Whatever may be said of the native as a parent, it is undeniable that as a ratepayer he readily shows a power of appreciating education. It does not, of course, follow that education is an unmixed benefit. The education of non-European races

is now a common-place of discussion. There is indeed so general an agreement about the main principles that nearly all the statesmen who discuss them conspire in a docile defiance of pedagogic doctrines alleged to be orthodox, but really the creatures of their assailants' imagination.

There have recently been discussions in both Houses of the Imperial Parliament on Indian education; there have been reports on education in the Soudan and the Gold Coast; there have been numerous books and papers by Mr. Booker Washington, Professor Du Bois, and others in the United States; there have been reports on education in Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and in 1908 the whole subject of native education was examined and reported upon by a powerful Select Committee of the Cape House of Assembly, the conclusions of which have been hailed with delight by the natives of South Africa, and have generally been considered reasonable by the Europeans.

It is tolerably safe to say that the following propositions in regard to native education in South Africa will command general assent. Firstly, a great work has been done for native education by Missionaries, who must, however, look forward to the time when they will have to hand over the

management of the schools to Committees representing the parents and ratepayers. Secondly, there is not as yet sufficient evidence to prove that, apart from isolated and exceptional cases, the native mind either is or is not capable of the higher developments attained by the European mind. Thirdly, existing systems of education, imperfect as they necessarily are, do undeniably tend to make the native more intelligent and more loyal. Whether they also make him more moral and more industrious is a disputed question. Fourthly, education, especially in dealing with natives, must aim principally at producing intelligence and character. It must therefore insist throughout on thoroughness. Fifthly, the educational course should provide at every stage for manual training, and especially for training in agriculture, not so much for the sake of its utility as its discipline ; it should include systematic moral and religious instruction ; it should make universal a knowledge of the simple laws of health, and it should work to a great extent through the vernacular, and by means of a curriculum specially adapted to the needs of the natives, and designed to bring all the subjects taught as far as possible into direct relation with the life of the people.

A policy on these lines would certainly meet the

wishes of the natives. It would probably also secure the approval of most responsible South Africans. If carried out it would not quickly reveal its full effects, but it would in the course of two generations produce a very large coloured population trained to labour, well equipped with knowledge, spirited, yet easy to govern, and intelligent. In the main the Cape system tends in this direction already, and a movement of this kind when it has once gained momentum cannot be reversed or arrested.

The system of local self-government which is to be found in the Transkeian territories of the Cape, and the chief part of which has been introduced more recently in Basutoland, is particularly important, because it is a conscious development of a primitive Kafir institution. Where there is individual tenure of the land there are elected members; where there is communal tenure the headmen nominated by Government represent the people. The magistrates are also members. There are district Councils, and there is a general Council in which these are represented. The Councils are in all cases purely advisory, but it is very seldom that any step is taken contrary to the wish of the Council, and indeed one of the main advantages of the Council system is that it gives

the Government an admirable opportunity of teaching the natives to understand its policy. Another is that it brings home to the magistrates the opinions of the people. A third is that it trains the people in the understanding and management of affairs. As education does its work among the natives the Council system will receive an immense accession of vigour. By it South Africa is deliberately training the native in the delicate art of government. And here again it is neither possible to halt nor to retire.

The question of the franchise does not stand alone. It is much prejudiced in advance by the decision made in regard to native education and native Councils. But it is the centre of the wide battlefield on which the great issue of native policy is being decided. In the Transvaal, and particularly, perhaps, in Johannesburg, there is violent opposition to proposals of enfranchising the natives; but on the eve of the meeting of the National Convention Mr. Lionel Phillips, then Chairman of the Chamber of Mines, spoke sympathetically of liberal native policy, and addressed his speech to the Rand Pioneers, probably the fiercest opponents of the native vote. In 1876 Carnarvon made no provision for the

native franchise in his Confederation Bill, and said that for a time it would be best that the natives should not be directly represented in the Legislative Assembly, though they might vote for the provincial legislatures, and it might be well to have men specially appointed to represent them in the Upper House. These expressions were much commented on at the time, and eventually, as we have seen, the House of Commons inserted an amendment providing for "the due representation of the natives in the Union Parliament and in the Provincial Councils, in such manner as shall be deemed by Her Majesty to be without danger to the stability of the Government."

This is, no doubt, a sound principle, but it is not clear how it is to be translated into actual regulations. There are several alternative courses open, even when it has been decided to allow the natives to vote for members of Parliament. It is possible to give them separate representation, as the Maoris have in New Zealand. It is possible to have the same law for natives as for Europeans: this is the Cape system. Or it is possible to discriminate and exact special qualifications in the case of the natives.

The first of these alternatives was recommended by the Native Affairs Commission in 1905, but it is

difficult to see how it can be defended. In New Zealand, where the Maoris are few, there are not so many objections to the system, but even there it is said to have outlived its usefulness. In South Africa it would involve enormous and unmanageable native constituencies, so that the natives would never really know their representative. But the chief objection is that it would be impossible to fix the number of members to be elected by the natives without falling into the most serious danger. If the numbers were proportionate to the number of registered electors at the Cape, the coloured population would elect a sixth of the House, which they would often be in a position to control. If the number were smaller than the number of the coloured electors warranted, a patent grievance would be created. In the one case the Europeans would certainly insist on a change; in the other the natives would inevitably demand it. This proposal, therefore, cannot be regarded as acceptable.

The Cape system has lasted for over half a century. In a minute dealing with Carnarvon's Bill the Molteno Ministry at the Cape recorded their opinion that the system had worked well. And there is certainly force in the argument recently advanced by the educated natives in the

Transvaal, when they urged the extension of the franchise to natives and coloured people in the Transvaal on the ground that the franchise had made the natives loyal at the Cape.

It may be remarked that, whereas the native franchise is the corollary of native education, native education without the franchise is a danger. In South Africa, as in India, young natives learn to read the great English publicists, but in India, where there is no franchise, these books are found to be, in Lord Morley's phrase, "explosive books," and at the Cape, where there is a native franchise, these same explosive books become the very cement of government. It may be added that at the Cape there is at present no great increase in the coloured vote. Even in the great native constituency of Tembuland the European vote has grown much faster than the coloured vote. It is indeed astonishing to observe how the European vote advances, not only in numbers but in proportion to the total. Here are the figures showing the number of registered voters at the last three registrations:—

REGISTERED VOTERS (CAPE COLONY).

|           | European. | Native. | Coloured. | Total.  |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| 1904..... | 114,450   | 10,556  | 10,162    | 135,168 |
| 1905..... | 119,906   | 10,408  | 12,625    | 142,939 |
| 1907..... | 129,337   | 10,978  | 11,806    | 152,121 |

These figures clearly show that for the present at any rate the Cape system is "without danger to the stability of the Government."

Hitherto there has been no suggestion of a native party. The native votes as a citizen and not as a native, and the same is true of the coloured man. Nor is there any substantial foundation to the theory that the dark vote is degrading to candidates. It is instructive, for it compels candidates and Members of Parliament to acquaint themselves at first hand with the circumstances and needs of the dark section of the people, but the coloured voter is well qualified to put a just value on the protestations of insincerity, and in actual experience it is found that the dark vote is only degrading to those who cannot be prevented from degrading themselves in any case.

But the Cape system could not be applied to the whole of South Africa, because in the new colonies there is manhood suffrage for Europeans. It would be impossible to go back on this in the new colonies, and it would be no less impossible to give manhood suffrage to the natives. But in the case of Europeans there is a strong presumption that men are civilised and educated, whereas in the case of natives there is not. It would there-

fore seem that there might well be special qualifications for natives, with manhood suffrage for Europeans. In the former case it might be well to insist on a more searching educational test than is applied at the Cape at present. If this policy could be carried out all over South Africa there would be good reason for satisfaction. But for many years to come it may be wisest to leave matters as they are.

There are two general remarks which apply to the whole field of the native question. Wise native policy will in the first place study the interests of the people rather than the chiefs; and in the second, differentiate in favour of civilised and educated natives. The downfall of Dingaan was at least as great a blessing to the natives as to the Europeans. There is no good reason for supporting the red, or uncivilised, Kafir who objects to native education because it teaches girls to choose their own husbands rather than accept those who can bring additions to their father's herds. Friends of the native will do well to remember that he has had worse enemies than the white man. As regards the second point, it is, of course, essential that those who have to deal with the natives should thoroughly understand their customs, and it is no doubt right that native

law should be observed and enforced as far as it is compatible with justice.

But the native ought to be encouraged to rise, and where he does rise he ought to be made to feel that he belongs in some sense to the governing class. To confuse all classes of the natives in one indiscriminate phrase is neither wise nor accurate. Thirty years ago the Natal Government insisted on this principle. It was the inspiration of Mr Hofmeyr's Act, which exempted registered voters from all special laws affecting natives. Beyond this it is impossible to go, for this is the culmination of sound native policy, which will give the native special protection as long as he needs it, but will aim at so developing his powers that in the future he will be able to protect himself, and will offer him the full privileges of citizenship when he attains the full qualifications which citizenship presupposes.

It may be said that in these pages, too, little attention has been paid to the coloured people as distinct from the natives. But the principles which apply to the one apply to the other also. The coloured people are at present on the whole the intellectual aristocracy of the dark-skinned population, and as a matter of fact little differentiation is made between them and educated natives.

In both cases the policy of protection first assists and then wars against the policy of development, and both, but especially the latter, conflict with policies which disregard natives' rights altogether. It would be unwise to give the coloured people as such a separate legal status. It is imprudent to refuse full citizenship to civilised and educated men, whatever their colour.

What the ultimate relation between white and black will be in South Africa it is impossible to conjecture. Racial amalgamation is repugnant to the instincts of the best men of unmixed blood on both sides of the colour barrier. Social equality cannot be thought of, at any rate as long as the mass of the dark population is uncivilised. But wise men will not repine because they cannot foresee the solution of problems which belong to the future. It is enough to know that if a policy at once liberal and cautious is definitely adopted and steadily pursued, the dark-skinned people will become an increasingly valuable section of the nation; and, as they advance, their economic development in particular cannot fail to react upon the Europeans, who will be compelled to bestir themselves when the upper division of the labour market is invaded by the Kafir artisan. The native's prospect is assured, and it is plain that he

can afford to wait. Agitation on his part at the present time would but create alarm and hinder its own purpose. The path of the white South African is less clear, but some parts of it are already visible. He cannot see far into the future, but he knows that his people's reputation in the world depends on the handling of the native question; he knows that the development of the natives can not be stopped; and he knows that in the past he has always prospered most when he has adhered most faithfully to the path of moderation.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE WEALTH OF THE NATION

“AFTER all,” wrote an eminent British Minister to a gentleman who had been offered the governorship of the Cape, but had lost the appointment in consequence of a change of Government, “was it worth your while to worry yourself with Dutchmen and Kafirs?”

It is now apparent that Dutchmen and Kafirs are well worth worrying about, and that there are other great elements in the population which is the real wealth of the South African nation. The character of the various sections of the people has been already described. The present chapter will be devoted to an examination of three practical questions connected with the well-being of the people—the rescue of the poor whites (the submerged tenth of white South Africa), education and immigration.

The problem of the submerged tenth, distressing in any country, is doubly distressing in a country where the whites form a natural aristocracy. So low have some of the whites of South Africa fallen that on one occasion Mr. Hofmeyr, speaking to an audience of coloured people, warned them that if a wrong decision were taken in regard to one of the questions of the day they might sink to the level of the poor white. The question has been investigated by Commissions in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and by Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament at the Cape, one of which was presided over by the Chief Justice.

The poor white is the European who is permanently incapable of maintaining for himself and his family a standard of living which can be regarded as decent for white people. Life can be sustained in the genial climate of South Africa with far less trouble than is required to provide the barest necessities in Northern Europe. In some parts of South Africa healthy natives are to be found living in huts which cost at most only a few days' labour to construct, sparsely clothed, if clothed at all, and subsisting for a considerable part of the year almost entirely on the fruit of the prickly pear. There are also white

people who approach too nearly to this style of living. It may be said that some of the greatest souls in the history of the world have been those of hermits who have done much the same. But the poor white is not a hermit; he is not actuated by commanding ideas; he is devoid of aspiration; indeed it is agreed that his malady is even more moral than economic, and that the most disheartening characteristic he has is his careless contentment.

In the towns there is now a good deal of distress. There is the urban as well as the rural poor white, and as living in the towns is not so easy as in the country the condition of the urban poor white is thoroughly miserable. The distinctive problem of unemployment has also made its appearance in South Africa, and that alone is sufficiently perplexing. Relief works hardly touch the surface of the disease, for which indeed no effective remedy has yet been discovered. Something may perhaps be done by the forestry department, for there is no country where afforestation promises more than in South Africa, nor is there any work which is better fitted to provide against the chronic evils of unemployment. But the sovereign remedy in South Africa would be some medicine which would make farm labourers of those of the unemployed

who have no real prospect of finding regular work in the towns, and such a medicine has not yet been discovered either in South Africa or elsewhere.

It is not, however, impossible that prolonged and patient insistence may produce among the people a temper more favourable to rural occupations. If this can be done there need be no insuperable difficulty in the way of devising an adequate organisation for bringing the superfluous labour into touch with the crying necessity of the farmers. Organised labour bureaus might then suffice to deal with the greater part of the unemployment which is merely occasional, and for the rest labour colonies on the German plan, possibly under the control of the great municipalities, might prove an effective remedy.

The poor white who can be dealt with in any of these ways is not the worst case. Probably there are a good many who might emerge from their low condition if they could be transported to places where their services would be welcome on the land. Suitable work may be found for others in the mines. But for the poor white who lacks not only the opportunity but also the spirit of work, nothing but a more drastic remedy is possible. The Dutch Reformed Church has worked wonders with some of these unfortunate people, whom it

has drafted to its labour Colony of Kakamas, on the Orange River, far away from the entanglements of large towns. In this colony the strictest discipline is enforced; the lessons of simple but efficient agricultural methods are inculcated; invigorating moral influences are brought to bear, and in one way or another thoughtless and improvident and listless people, without hope and without even despair, have been gradually transformed into vigorous men and women. But these miracles are few in number, and they cannot be effected except under conditions to which many will not submit. The only real hope of rescuing the poor white as a class lies in the children. If these can be removed from the numbing influence of their homes, and provided for in suitable schools, and especially industrial schools, the spectre of congenital destitution may be exorcised, and the poor whites of South Africa cease to exist.

It is not only in connection with the poor whites that education surpasses every other national agency in the force of its influence. Indeed the schoolmaster is by far the most important personage in South Africa. On the whole the machinery of South African education may be said to be efficient, but great improvements are very generally demanded, not so much in the system of

educational organisation, as in the character and spirit of the training itself. Respect for education is widely diffused in South Africa, and we have already seen that the war has deepened it by securing for its object the authoritative testimony of the most decisive experience. These facts are, of course, redoubtable auxiliaries to the cause of education.

Nor do they stand alone. In the Cape Colony the Dutch Reformed Church has always supported the state system of schools, and in the Transvaal General Smuts had no great difficulty in inducing the ministers of the Church to acquiesce when he decided to withhold financial aid from Church Schools. Unfortunately considerable discontent has recently sprung up at the Cape, and the Dutch Teachers' Association has declared in favour of Church Schools. But hitherto the state has been able to rely on the co-operation of the Dutch Church, and while the Roman Catholics, and in some instances the Anglicans, tend to hold aloof, the other Christian Churches are convinced allies of the state system. On the whole, therefore, the nation is fortunate in having the churches with it in this great undertaking, so often elsewhere the occasion of conflict between church and state.

In form there is a general resemblance between

the school systems of the Cape and the two new colonies, where the example of the Cape was very generally followed in the re-organisation after the war. For some forty years the schools in the Cape Colony were managed, under the general control of the central government, by local committees elected by persons who undertook to defray, if necessary, part of the expenses. On the whole this system worked well, but, apart from the theoretical objection that it imposed local financial burdens on a few volunteers instead of on the whole community, it was deficient in two ways: it made no provision either for starting new schools, or for co-ordinating education. Accordingly in 1905 a system of school boards was established, each board having the control over a whole district. School rates took the place of voluntary subscriptions, and though the committees remain they have been shorn of most of their authority.

This scheme remedies the defects of its predecessor, but the school boards are not in personal touch with the people of the country districts as the old committees were, and the result is that the new scheme has gone far to alienate the sympathy of the rural population as a whole. Moreover, except in the large towns, it has proved expensive and cumbrous. It would not, however, appear to

be impossible to devise a scheme which, while correcting the faults of the old system, will avoid those of the new without contributing fresh ones of its own. If so, it might very well apply to each of the three large colonies.

In Natal there is a system of state-aided voluntary schools, and to bring about an adjustment between this system and that of the rest of South Africa would, no doubt, require considerable delicacy of touch. It would be a calamity if the national system of education were regarded as alien and antipathetic by any considerable section of the people in any part of the country; and it would be a calamity in which the Government responsible for it could expect little pity, for it would follow on the creation of discord where all the elements of harmony are present and only await the summons of a discreet composer.

The question of compulsory and free education is in South Africa mainly one of finance. As far as European children are concerned, the country is ready for compulsory education, although, of course, it cannot be applied where schools are leagues apart from each other. But at the Cape there is not accommodation for all the children within reach of the schools, and although the number of white children who grow up without

any education is extremely small, the provision of the funds requisite to remedy this defect will be difficult as long as the finances of the country are embarrassed. All over South Africa the Dutch Church applies an ingenious but effective compulsion of its own, by declining either to admit to confirmation (*anneming*) young people who cannot read and write, or to marry those who have not been confirmed. Nevertheless, there is still too much semi-illiteracy in the country. It is now some years since compulsory education for boys was enforced by the Emperor Menelik, and it is hardly fitting that South Africa should lag behind Abyssinia.

A system of free education is usually the corollary of compulsion. It already exists in the Transvaal, and in the Cape provision is made for lowering or remitting fees in the interest of necessitous parents. This naturally gives rise to jealousies and discontent, and it is not improbable that when next prosperity visits South Africa it will bring with it universal free and compulsory education. It would, however, be difficult to confine this to European children, and it is possible that this consideration will delay progress on the lines which naturally suggest themselves in countries not embarrassed by this protean compli-

cation. Still, if native education is reformed, and if a fair share of the cost is paid by the natives themselves, it may be that within the life-time of the children of to-day a system providing suitable education for all classes, compelling attendance and dispensing with school fees, may be cheerfully accepted in the interests not of any particular section but of the whole nation, whose main hope lies in the effective training of all classes of the people for their work in life.

But a system of this kind, however cunningly devised, is of no value unless it is made the engine, not of a formal pedagogic tradition, but of a living national purpose. Enormous progress has already been made, and an immense amount of good work is now being done in the schools, especially, perhaps, the girls' schools, of South Africa.

It is no disparagement of this work, but rather a recognition of its distinctive excellence, to require of South African education definite and conscious conformity with the national will, which demands that the schools of the country shall so influence its children as to give them a spirit of ardent patriotism, reverence, an appreciation of high things, a practical bent, and an adequate equipment of knowledge, not indeed to carry them

through life, but to take them past the gates of the fuller knowledge which they will subsequently need, and must know how to acquire as the need arises. If at the present time there is a certain discontent with the work of the schools, this is mainly due to the feeling that they do too little to imbue South Africans with a love of their own country, and with that peculiar desire and instinct for understanding it, which come of affection. More than once since the failure of De Mist's great education ordinance in 1804 education has suffered because it has not satisfied the religious and idealistic sense of the people. No doubt, these essential elements—patriotism, reverence, appreciation of high things—are more in the spirit and atmosphere than in the curriculum of a school, and more in the personality of the teacher than in the syllabus or scheme of study; but this only means that they are the most important part of the whole system, for is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?

Keeping these principles in view, we cannot fail to reach three conclusions. First, considering the depth of the passion with which half the people of South Africa are attached to the Dutch language, and the vital connection which there is in their understanding between their language

and their patriotism, the schools cannot answer the national purpose unless they impart to all the children, whether the Dutch language is their mother tongue or not, a quick appreciation of its virtues. The same is true of the English language, and must, if necessary, be no less insisted upon. Secondly, considering the supreme importance of the teacher's personality, it must be given free scope, and not be crushed by the dull machinery of examinations and of what is known as individual inspection—an uninteresting survival, now almost peculiar to South Africa, which turns school inspectors into itinerant examiners, compelled to assess the work of a year by half a dozen questions and answers. Thirdly, for the same reasons, South Africa must redouble its efforts to train teachers to meet its needs, and must devote special attention to the production of teachers capable of carrying out the purpose of the nation in the lonely homes scattered about the great expanses of territories like Namaqualand and Zoutpansberg. And having produced its teachers it must see to it that the conditions of their work are such as to retain them in its service.

South Africa is feeling the truth of Cardinal Richelieu's doctrine that in a well ordered state there are more teachers of mechanical than of

liberal arts. Every subject must indeed be quickened and lighted up by being made the vehicle of a high national will. But more children must find the opportunity of furthering that will in agricultural and industrial work than in the professions. There is a vigorous demand for the teaching of elementary agriculture in the schools; commercial education is putting forward its claims, and the training of mechanics has begun. The University has undertaken to give School Leaving Certificates to children with a general education supplemented by special knowledge of subjects directly connected with the work of life, and outside the ordinary schools more has been done on these lines than in them.

Schemes of agricultural education have been propounded, aiming at the diffusion of an elementary knowledge of agricultural science and economics among the rural population, and the training of expert farmers and of such specialists in agricultural science as the country needs. White men are being trained for work in the mines, and the chiefs of the mining industry are beginning to recognise the advantage of making the most of the local supply. The enterprise and devotion of Miss Hobhouse have created schools for spinning and weaving all over the country, and in the

Transvaal a school has been established for the training of diamond-cutters. In the Cape Colony the school boards were last year empowered to organise industrial schools. There are technical schools organised by the railway authorities.

All these things need co-ordination and encouragement. If South Africa recognises the power of education, formulates her ideas, and insists on their realisation through the schools, then there is no reason why its people should not be in the future more patriotic, more aspiring, more cultured, and more efficient than any people the world has yet known; and the common pursuit of these high ends cannot fail to draw together the different sections of the people and weld them into an indissoluble union of heart and spirit and endeavour.

The inspiration of this great work ought naturally to come from the University. In theory this is already a national institution, but it is itself the chief authority for the statement that it needs reform. It co-ordinates and tests the work of the colleges and the chief schools of the country, and has performed this duty with discretion and justice. But it is not sufficiently alive to the dominant nationalism of the time and is too often

a reluctant follower rather than a confident leader. The different colleges which do the work of University teaching are hindered by lack of resources, and by the absence of national co-operation. The result is that, while in the teaching of many subjects there is a lavish reduplication of staff, there is no medical school, no school of economic and political science, and no real law school. Fortunately University education is to be in the hands of the National Parliament, which will certainly know how to mould it into symmetry with its national designs and make it, as it should be, a powerful agent in advancing them.

If the system of South African education is made effective it will produce in due course the national vigour and compactness which South Africans have long desired. Immigration will then assume an aspect which it has not always worn in South Africa. It will mean not the introduction of fresh feuds consequent upon the contempt of immigrants for national traditions and characteristics which float and conflict in the air, but the accession of new auxiliaries in the work of the country, willing not indeed to abandon their own characteristics, but to be suffused in the influences which have made South Africa a nation,

contributing something themselves and receiving no less in return.

For many years the people of South Africa did their utmost to stimulate immigration into their country. Sir George Grey, in his speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament in 1856, preached the policy of immigration, and declared that in his opinion South Africa offered immigrants as many advantages as Australia. Large numbers of juvenile immigrants were introduced for work on the farms, and some of them prospered exceedingly. Between 1873 and 1884 nearly 24,000 immigrants came to the Cape with the help of Government funds, and for a long time there was an Immigration Office working on behalf of the Cape in England. At the present moment the Chartered Company is making a great and laudable effort to attract settlers to Rhodesia. All this is quite apart from the earlier efforts of the Imperial Government in the same direction.

Undoubtedly South Africa is not without a proper fastidiousness in these matters. The Cape refused to accept convicts sixty years ago, and has heard with gratitude of the recent decision of the Imperial Government to warn British Magistrates against the practice of remitting sentences on con-

dition that the prisoners concerned emigrate to one of the colonies. Nor is immigration possible when the country is staggering under accumulated financial disasters, and therefore in 1906 Dr. Jameson, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, warned English people against emigrating to the Cape. Much is also to be said for the view of the labour party, which desires to exclude men brought in on a contract of service at a rate of pay lower than that current in the colony. It was with a view to considerations of this kind that clauses applicable to Europeans were included in recent South African Immigration Acts.

But although South Africa is not prepared to welcome immigrants who come in a hostile spirit, or who would be likely to add to the embarrassments of the country rather than to its strength, it will open its arms to immigrants who come as settlers, and who are qualified to make their way. Even at the present time young Englishmen with a little capital can without difficulty find a career waiting for them on the land in South Africa, on condition that they are prepared to learn the business of farming before they begin to farm on their own account, and that they will take the trouble to learn to appreciate the country and people before they buy any land or stock. Nor

would it be easy to find a more useful or a more hopeful career in any other part of the world. It is also possible that juvenile immigration may once more do much to supply the farmer's demand for labour. With tact and patience an immense amount of good might be done in this way. For some time to come the country will need to import a good many teachers, journalists and engineers.

Finally, as industries develop in South Africa a stream of immigrants will, no doubt, be attracted. In all these cases, if the immigrants come to make a home in South Africa they will find it a hospitable land, and everyone who settles, and is numbered among the friends of the people is smoothing the path of those who come after. Already General Hertzog has said that settlers on the land will be welcome unless they are made a charge on the depleted Treasury. In Canada, as in the United States, men of every European race are swelling the population, and adding to the country's resources. If they sometimes introduce into the new world the disputes of the old, they generally tend before long to forget the preoccupations of the old world in the engrossing interests of the new. It may be that the turn of South Africa is yet to come, and that a century hence it will be

thickly peopled by a race drawn from many lands, but all South Africans, owning true allegiance to their new home, and indissolubly blended into the wealth of the nation.

## CHAPTER X

### THE NATION'S FUTURE

IT would save much trouble if impatient politicians could remember that it is not possible to make the present resemble the future, and contumacious politicians that it is not possible to bind the future to resemble the present.

There are South Africans who cannot rest because their country at present contains no Manchester or Leeds. There are others who make themselves uneasy for fear that great industries may one day spring up in South Africa and change the character and spirit of its society. The first are set upon forcing energy into unnatural channels; the other on hindering its natural overflow. Neither obey the first principle of sound policy, which is to ascertain the natural capabilities of the country and exhaust all means of developing them. Throughout the Old World there has been an

industrial revolution. The causes which have produced it must in course of time produce its counterpart in South Africa, but at present they are not operative there, nor is there any likelihood that they will be felt in the near future.

It must also be remembered that there are not wanting signs of a coming counter-revolution which will eventually fill up once more the depleted rural population of old countries. For instance, some years ago Mr. James J. Hill, one of the chief railway financiers of the United States, raised afresh the cry, "Back to the Land," showing that the world is threatened with a shortage of wheat, if that can be called a threat which promises to force people back into the country. Clearly the growth of industry cannot go on indefinitely without a continued growth in the output of raw materials, and if far-seeing men are beginning to cry, "Back to the Land," it is because there is a prospective shortage of wheat, of wool, of timber, and, indeed, of all those things which a new country is especially well qualified to produce.

If South Africa should think of artificially diverting energy from the primal industries of mining and farming to the secondary industries of manufacture, she would surely be very ill-advised. Industrialism is bound to come in due course

in South Africa as the population increases, and meanwhile there are some simple industrial arts which naturally spring up in the wake of the farmer and the miner; but for the present, and for many years to come, South Africa must be in the main a country of farms and mines, and the more she devotes herself to the work for which her circumstances suit her, the faster will be her development along the only road which leads to a healthy industrialism.

Agricultural progress is not easy to measure. Diffused over great spaces, it often eludes the careless eye. But it cannot be doubted that immense progress is being made by agriculture in South Africa. Farms are being subdivided and fenced; innumerable small irrigation works are being constructed; rivers are being dammed; stock is multiplying, and increasing care is being taken in the selection of stud animals; hundreds of fruit trees are being planted annually; the acreage of land under the plough is growing, and payable crops are taking the place of unpayable; co-operative methods are slowly coming into operation; machinery is everywhere in evidence; more efficiency is being displayed throughout; and science is gradually establishing its claim to the confidence of the farmer.

The result is that in several parts of the country, and especially near the coast and wherever the rainfall is fairly steady, cultivation is more intense, and population less sparse, than it was a few years back. New agricultural settlements are now to be found where a little time ago there were lonely farms, though sometimes, to be sure, the new hamlets have old names. For instance, there is in the district of Uitenhage a farm which, until within a year or two ago from now, bore the name of Rietfontein. Past it flows the Sunday River, and its owner, Mr. Ferreira, is a man of enterprise and courage. Quietly and without any stir he brought together a few friends, who formed with him a little syndicate, and raised the capital necessary for taking water out of the river in a canal and using it on the land. Now the place seems to have an assured prospect. After much consultation it has been called Selborne, and so a quiet English village has through the present High Commissioner passed on its ancient and melodious name to a district never dreamed of by Gilbert White.

But Selborne is not alone. A few miles above it is the Jesuit Mission settlement of Dunbrody, and above that again the flourishing agricultural township of Bayville, formed on the scheme of a

Mr. Kirkwood, a far-seeing and large-hearted merchant of Port Elizabeth. All this has been done in a few years, and has attracted little general attention. But it is part of a movement which is going forward by insensible steps all over the country, and transforming the waste into a garden.

The two farming industries which are most uncertain about their future in South Africa are those concerned with corn and wine. Excellent wheat is grown, but the supply is little more regular than the rainfall, and hitherto no satisfactory antidote to rust has been found. Much of the best corn country, too, is in the native reserves and is largely wasted. It is not improbable that the difficulties in the way of the corn farmer may eventually be overcome, but at present it would seem premature to assert that South Africa will be able in the near future to meet its own demand for bread. The production of maize and lucerne is, however, almost sure to increase largely, and already there is a surplus of oats for export.

With wine the case is different. Speaking of the Western Province of the Cape Colony in 1876 Froude said: "There are the vineyards which produce the Cape wine, palatable and even excellent in the cellars of the growers, and only

execrable when it has been adulterated for the foreign market." Three or four years ago Dr. Jameson sent some white wine from the Cape to Lord Grey, the Governor-General of Canada. It was christened Cape Hock, and is said to have been much praised at the vice-regal table.

There can be no doubt that there is in South Africa an ample supply of good wine. But the market for wine in South Africa itself is narrow, and there seems to be no great prospect of any considerable export trade, and therefore there is a serious over-production of wine, and unless the market can in some way be enlarged it will be necessary to restrict the production.

The prospects of the fruit-growers are far brighter. The consumption of wine is decreasing in the world; that of fruit is increasing. The Argentine is likely to prove a formidable competitor; otherwise South Africa is in an advantageous position compared with any other country for supplying Europe with fruit during the winter, and although the consumption of fruit in winter is, no doubt, less than in summer, it is very large, and is constantly growing. South Africa is rapidly extending its orchards. It remains to be seen whether the peach can be produced cheaply enough to become part of the people's food in

Europe, but apart from the supply of choice fruit for the few, there is every reason to hope that a generation hence South Africa may be supplying the masses in Europe with very large quantities of fresh apples, pears, oranges, lemons, plums, grapes, raisins, prunes, and perhaps bananas, as well as dried and canned fruit. South African tobacco, too, has a flavour compared with which, to a palate once accustomed to it, all other tobacco seems flat and stale. Good cigarette tobacco has been grown in several districts. It is less easy to speak with confidence of the sugar and tea plantations of Natal, as these depend very largely on protective customs duties. There seems little likelihood that these industries will swell the export trade of the country, and an industry which depends entirely on a protected home market in South Africa is not in a sound condition.

Since the war the flocks and herds of South Africa have not only driven imported meat almost entirely out of the market, but have increased prodigiously at the same time. In a very little while cold storage meat is likely to be unknown to South Africa. At present little is done in the way of producing ham and bacon, but it is impossible to believe that this can long continue, and on the other hand South African meat has begun to

insinuate itself, though rather shyly, into the English Market. Great progress has been made in building simple but effective dams, so that drought is far less destructive than it was. Altogether South Africa is already in a fair way towards becoming a great producer of meat.

A beginning, not much happier, but also not much unhappier, than similar beginnings in other countries, has been made with co-operative dairies, and it is certain that there has been a great improvement in the quality as well as the number of the milch-cows. If cattle diseases can be checked, as seems probable, the day when South Africa will produce large quantities of milk, cream, butter and cheese cannot be far off.

It has been noticed in Yorkshire that South African wool has recently been better than it used to be. Increased attention is being paid to mohair, and in both cases the output is increasing fast. There is good reason to believe that the world will depend increasingly on South Africa for its supplies of both. Hides and skins are also better in appearance than they were. As more lucerne is grown, the production of ostrich-feathers becomes more and more lucrative, and here, too, a large, expansive, and permanent market is open. South African horse-breeders have not yet recovered

from the appalling losses which they suffered during the war, but a great deal of lee way has been made up already, and it is not unlikely that the day will before long dawn when South Africa will once more supply remounts to the Army in India. Altogether the prospects of the pastoral industry are clear. Its potential wealth is enormous. It is said that one ostrich-farmer alone has an income of £20,000 a year, but on the whole the pastoral wealth of the country is very widely diffused, and this is one of the facts which make this industry so precious an asset to the nation.

The planting and preservation of forests naturally belong to the Government, for the whole community is concerned in their welfare, and the yield on the capital invested in them is so long deferred that few individuals have sufficient patience, patriotism, or resources to undertake the work. President Roosevelt has said that the United States are now within measurable distance of a timber famine. Certainly the forests of South Africa are quite inadequate for her needs. But many parts of the country are eminently suitable for afforestation, and for many years the subject has engaged the attention of public men. A good deal has been done already. For instance, several of the slopes of Table Mountain are now covered

with trees. If the financial difficulties of the country can be surmounted, afforestation may become an important part of national policy, and there seems to be no reason why in days to come the forests of South Africa should not be sufficient to supply the country with its timber, and help to feed the markets of the world.

These vast developments are not a mere matter of conjecture. They are already within sight. But they can be expedited by wisdom or retarded by folly. There are two alternative policies between which the Government will have to choose —one a policy of mere protection, the other a policy of development, including a certain amount of protection at first.

Let us look at the dispute in some detail. Much controversy has long raged round the question whether Government should, or should not, offer financial rewards for the destruction of jackals and baboons. It must be remembered that carnivorous animals inflict prodigious loss on the whole country. They often breed on Crown lands or in districts where there is little stock, and from these they spread over the country and prey upon the flocks of pastoralists. Not only do they kill enormous numbers of lambs and kids, and even full grown sheep and goats, but they make it necessary

to drive the stock every night into shelters or kraals, and this means first that the eradication of scab is almost impossible, and secondly that every stock farm is scored over by sheep tracks, which the torrential rains make into water-courses, carrying away the rain-water, instead of allowing it to soak into the ground, and with the rain-water large quantities of valuable soil. The evil and danger of this have long been recognised. Much may be done by care in stopping sluits, and preventing them from becoming channels. But it will be hard to put a stop to this evil until the jackals are destroyed, and the stock are able to spend the nights on the veld.

Considering all this, it is not difficult to make out a strong case for the payment of rewards for the destruction of vermin. As a rule these rewards are claimed by very poor men, some white and some dark, who are glad to devote themselves to this work for weeks together. The farmer can seldom spare time for it, and when he does he does not always claim the rewards, still less keep them for himself. But the Cape Government has now put a stop to this system, and it is hardly likely to be revived. It seems to follow, however, that the different governments are bound at least to clear their own lands of vermin, and not to continue

breeding jackals to the detriment of their neighbours.

Another more or less questionable piece of protection is the sale of guano from the islands to farmers at a price which pays the cost of maintaining the necessary establishments on the islands, but is considerably lower than the market price. More serious is the differentiation in railway rates, which means that a lower rate is charged for South African than for imported products, and the charging of specially low rates for farmers' requisites, and especially for materials needed in the construction of irrigation works. The differential rates are, of course, part of the general policy of protection in the strict economic sense, but they are particularly objectionable, as the burden of them falls exclusively on the up-country consumer, the consumer in the coast-towns not being affected.

It ought, therefore, to be agreed that, where protection is judged necessary, it should be given through the customs and not through railway rates, and this doctrine is now very generally accepted. The carrying of farmers' requisites at especially low rates is evidently a matter to be decided on ordinary business principles. If low rates encourage traffic they are an advantage to the

railways as well as the farmers; if not, it is clear that they are doing no good. As usual, the proper rate to be charged is the highest that the traffic will bear.

For some time to come protection through the customs will be insisted on. It is justified mainly by the war. The wholesale destruction of agricultural capital was clearly an interference with the orderly working out of economic principles, and a corresponding interference is necessary to restore the balance. However, the considerations advanced in a previous chapter suggest that the cause of protection is likely to lose ground, and even if it is maintained in theory it will not be operative if agriculture prospers as there is reason to hope that it will. No import duty affects an exporting industry at ordinary times, and in fact protection is for the weak and not for the strong.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to protect colonial products in the English market hardly affects South Africa. No preference can be given on gold or diamonds or ostrich feathers. If duties are imposed on wool, or meat, or fruit, or timber, or maize, it is difficult to believe that they could long be maintained or that history could be restrained from repeating itself in this matter. The only agricultural industries in South Africa to

which this policy offers any hope are tobacco and wine farming. The former is still in its infancy ; the latter is decaying not only in South Africa, but all over the world. More than once in the days when the United Kingdom did give preference to colonial wine there was great depression and distress among the wine-farmers of the Cape, and the industry oscillated between prosperity and mendicancy without respect to the English duties.

It is true that several advocates of the wine industry have spoken with approval of the scheme of preference in the English market, and some years ago the Bond Congress declared in favour of it. But in Parliament the vast majority of farmers' representatives have shown themselves hostile to this project, and a dispassionate examination of the facts makes it plain that the Cape wine farmer would have very little to gain by English preference, even if it could be regarded as permanent.

It must be remembered that in the course of a single generation, while the population of the United Kingdom has grown from 33,000,000 to 44,000,000, the annual consumption of wine has declined from 18,000,000 to 11,000,000 gallons. Even in France a similar movement has begun to manifest itself. Under the circumstances it is surely the dream of a visionary to suppose that a

trifling preference will even give the Cape wine-farmer, who has hitherto hardly succeeded in holding his own in the home market, despite enormous protective duties, a foot-hold in the restricted, shrinking and fastidious market of England, for which the whole world competes, and in which he would have to face the competition of neighbouring countries spurred on by ever-increasing over-production, and enjoying the incomparable advantage of proximity to the market.

The case of tobacco is different. At present it is too soon to prophesy, but it appears possible that, whether with or without preference, South African tobacco may one day successfully assert its claim to a considerable place in the world's markets, and that preference might do something to assist it. There are, of course, other considerations involved in the question of preferential tariffs. Something will be said of these, as far as they affect South Africa, in the last chapter of this book. Meanwhile, looking at the question from a purely economic stand-point and with a desire simply to appreciate the effect which the proposed preference would probably have on the primal industries of South Africa, it is sufficient to say that preference to the English market might benefit the tobacco growers of South Africa but

could not be expected to be of any real advantage to any other section of the South African farmers. It should be added that infinite mischief might result from uncertainty as to the continuance of preference, so that it would be contrary to the economic interests of South Africa to introduce the proposed system unless it were approved not merely by a temporary party majority but by a national conviction common to all who are at all likely to exercise power in the United Kingdom.

A more effective way of artificially protecting the wine-farmer would be to differentiate between South African and imported liquor in the issue of licenses for the sale of strong drink. The Jameson Government at the Cape proposed to cheapen licenses for the sale of South African wine and brandy, but this Bill perished amidst the outcries of the temperance party and the tumult which led to the dissolution of Parliament in 1907. The succeeding Government introduced a Bill providing for cheap wine-licenses, and this after being considerably modified was eventually forced through Parliament.

There would seem to be good reason for hoping that discrimination in favour of wine as opposed to brandy may be an effective temperance reform,

and that a policy of this kind may, by securing the South African wine farmer in the possession of the home market, go far to relieve his distress.

It has been proposed that the Government might assist the farmers by inspecting fruit for export and putting a Government stamp on approved cases or boxes. This has indeed been attempted, and a similar attempt has been made with bark in Natal. In both cases the resulting advantage has been very small. Yet another device for protecting farmers which may be mentioned is the proposal that the local authorities should exercise some control over the ostrich feather buyers, the less considerable of whom move from farm to farm and not infrequently over-reach the simpler farmers. To the same category of legislation belong the recent usury laws, as far as they affect the farmers.

On the whole all these devices, however necessary for a time, are displeasing because they argue weakness or excessive simplicity in those for whose benefit they are devised. It would seem right that the Government should undertake the destruction of carnivorous animals on its own land, and arrange licenses so as to encourage the drinking of wine instead of ardent spirits. Nor is there any great objection to the sale of guano at cost price. But the railways must be run on purely business

principles ; generally speaking, protective customs duties can only be justified as a temporary measure ; the project of preference in England is almost wholly nugatory as far as South Africa is concerned, and the other protective measures mentioned will become superfluous when education has permeated the rural population.

On the other hand there is a great work for Government to do in the way of clearing the road for agricultural development. One of the first needs of the farmer is a system of easy communications. The Government ought not to rest content until it has covered the country with a net-work of railways, roads, and telegraph and telephone lines, and built bridges and established post-offices wherever they are genuinely required. This does not mean that all these conveniences ought to be supplied without regard to cost, but that a deliberate policy should be pursued, and that in following business principles the authorities should take account not only of the present but also of the future.

Moreover, in the management of the railways special regard must be paid, as the draft constitution directs, to the development of the country, and cold storage vans and similar contrivances must be introduced wherever there is a genuine

prospect of their enticing into existence a volume of production which will eventually defray the cost.

In the same way experiments in boring artesian wells may well be undertaken by the Government. Nor can it be denied that the Government is within its proper province in providing some of the agricultural capital which is required. It must be remembered that conditions in new countries where the farmers own the land are very different from those in older countries where the farmers are merely tenants, and the land is owned by a capitalist class. And therefore loans for irrigation works, for well sinking, for fencing, and for other permanent improvements may well be advanced by Government in new countries, provided, of course, that adequate security is insisted upon.

Perhaps the best plan may be to encourage the establishment of agricultural banks on the Raiffeisen principle, according to which the people in every small area combine to borrow on their joint and several security, undertaking unlimited liability, and managing the issue of loans through an elected committee. It is certain that this system would be slow in spreading in South Africa; it is by no means certain that it would not eventually meet the needs of the

country. Whether Government would also be well advised in inaugurating such schemes as that of insuring stocks or crops, where private enterprise is dilatory, is a question less easy to determine, but well worth considering.

Certainly it is the plain duty of Government to do what it can to stamp out animal and vegetable diseases, such as tick, fever, and scab, or scale and wine mildew; to restrict the exuberance of dodder, prickly pear, and jointed cactus; and to put a stop to adulteration of wine. These are little more than police duties. It is said that Zoilus, determined to admire nothing, was shown the model of a superb house; but he refused to admire it, saying that it had no wheels and that there might be bad neighbours, in which case it would be useless. Certainly the same may be said of a South African farm. Everyone familiar with the country districts knows cases of enterprising farmers who fence their land, clear it of vermin and noxious plants, and having cleaned it, proceed to make the most of it, but are compelled to spend much of their time in destroying prickly pear and vermin which come from a slovenly neighbour's ground. It is right that Government should intervene here; and it is particularly necessary that while dealing drastically with slovenly neighbours in general the

Government should make sure that it is not the most slovenly of all neighbours itself.

Another task which naturally falls to the lot of Government is the encouragement of science applied to the agricultural problems of the country. The combination of effort in this direction is likely to be one of the first advantages derived from Closer Union. A central laboratory has long been needed. Much may be done by dairy experts, wool experts, and others in giving demonstrations in the most approved methods. More good still may come of a definite scheme of agricultural education, providing for technical training not only in agricultural colleges and vacation courses, but also in continuation courses. Perhaps the teachers in the ordinary schools may be led to do most of all for agricultural progress, not in attempting to teach infants how to farm, but in inculcating some elementary truths, in training the powers of observation, in endowing farmers' children with a just inquisitiveness about their own business, and in teaching them how to set about satisfying it.

One of the besetting weaknesses of the poorer South African farmer is a tendency to despise the by-product and neglect such things as the pigs and the poultry. This only needs exposing to be cured, and by a little trouble Government might

easily ensure the diffusion of juster sentiments among the farmers of future generations.

In all this vast enterprise it will be especially necessary to pay due homage to two great general principles of government in South Africa. The first is, that the Government must carry the people with it. The second is that the authorities must practise the simplicity traditional to the country. It is idle for governments to elaborate schemes for ensuring the progress of the people and let them loose to fly in the air, if the people regard them as alien inventions which do not concern them. It is foolish to suppose that the people can be taught efficiency by officers who scorn to spend less than two pounds in doing one pound's worth of work. Yet what proportion of the Acts which have been passed in South Africa would have been carried in their present shape if the first of these two principles had been observed? And what fraction of the money spent by Government since 1902 would have been disbursed if the second had been insisted on?

Finally, Government may do much by throwing open Crown lands for settlement. To bring settlers from over the sea and attempt to plant them at once on land in South Africa is indeed a perilous adventure, for without experience farming in

South Africa, and not perhaps only in South Africa, is an unpromising speculation. We have already considered what may be done in the way of stimulating immigration. But the question of Crown lands is distinct. The Cape in particular has long adopted a forward policy in this matter, and the settlement of British Bechuanaland is a monument of the prudent generosity of the land laws of the colony. This far-sighted policy must be extended and steadily pursued until the whole country is covered with homesteads and farms. Government attempts to construct great irrigation works and establish irrigation colonies have not hitherto been conspicuously successful, but this subject demands further attention; for every attempt to conserve water in a dry land is a good deed, and every chance of strengthening the nation's hold on the soil must be seized, and not hastily relinquished.

In all these ways the national government will be able to foster agriculture. If it chooses, it can squander its energy and resources in attempts to protect weakness, ignorance and prejudice by devices for over-reaching nature and eluding the operation of its laws.

The alternative policy is to aim at building up strength rather than propping up weakness; at

spreading knowledge rather than pampering ignorance; at turning the face of the people to the light rather than fostering the belief that darkness is patriotism; at enlisting the support of nature rather than evading its justice. There are two paths to choose between. Fortunately for South Africa the tendency of all the most influential men is to turn to the better and manlier course. This does not mean that the Government will willingly allow infant industries to be trodden down at the outset by the unbridled competition of adults; but it does mean that there is reason to hope for the adoption of a policy designed to promote the development of the country's industries so that they may be able to hold their own in the world on their merits.

Side by side with agriculture is the great industry of mining. This asks far less of Government, because its capital is supplied privately, and because it is far more concentrated. Enormous as is the mineral output of South Africa, the agricultural output probably surpasses it in money value, but the earnings of one great mine may exceed those of a large agricultural district, and so it comes about that it is much easier for the mining industry than for the farmers to dispense with the assistance of Government.

However, there is much to be done both for capital and for labour in connection with the mines. Capital has had repeated shocks in South Africa, and it is therefore timid about new ventures, and dangerous mistakes are sometimes made, as when successive Rand Companies dispensed with the services of an eminent auditor, because he did not agree with the directors about Chinese labour. This might naturally lead capitalists at a distance to suspect that the audit of Rand Companies is not independent. It may become desirable for the Government to appoint auditors to inspect the accounts of all public companies. Certainly stringent company laws are needed in order to prevent unscrupulous financiers from giving South Africa a bad name. The great object of the most efficient company is to secure ample publicity, but provision might also be made for the adequate representation of absent share-holders, whose interests cannot be regarded as secure if they are unable to make themselves felt except by a prodigious effort. Something may perhaps be done to prevent the locking up of potential mines by large companies, and to encourage and help prospectors. Many experiments in mining legislation have been tried in Rhodesia, and much may be learned from its experience of their operation.

We have already seen that the working expenses of the mining companies are being reduced; and in this connection it may be remembered that before the war an authoritative circular was issued promising a reduction of nearly £4,400,000 as a consequence of the war. To protest against this would be to adopt the mischievous principle that business ought not to be conducted on business lines. Responsible men will certainly not lend themselves to this, and they will be glad to see the National Government do all it can to facilitate the supply of rough labour in abundance for work in the mines. The first condition of success in that respect is to make sure that the state of the compounds is satisfactory. But at the same time it would be unpatriotic to withhold sympathy from those who urge that more of the work in the mines should be done by white men. Fortunately South Africans are now being trained for work in the mines, and several of the companies as well as the Government have taken a keen interest in this enterprise. It is safe to prophesy that this movement is bound to go on; that, as more local men are introduced into the mines, and greater determination is shown in the enforcement of salutary regulations, lower wages will suffice, and that white men will gradually find that they

can do more of the work of the mines than is generally conceded at present. It is no part of the friend of South Africa to represent the Rand as another Basutoland.

As white men strengthen their position in the mines, the industrial population is bound to increase. Apart from the mines the industrial population is not large, but considerable numbers of artisans and labourers are employed by the railway and harbour departments, and the repairing shops connected with these prove that high-class work can be done at moderate cost in South Africa. It is an encouraging feature in the situation that many of the children of the poorer farmers are taking to work of this kind, and showing great aptitude for it, so that the races are blending by the forge and the carpenter's bench. The whole of the construction work on the Bloemfontein-Kimberley Railway was done by white men, and seems to have been done efficiently and cheaply.

Apart from the mines and the railways and harbours, industries are developing slowly in South Africa, but the development has begun and is bound to continue, and there would seem to be little reason to repine because it does not come sooner or faster than is natural. It should be sufficient that it is already possible to foresee the

day when there will be in South Africa a large industrial population, attached to the country and homogeneous with the rest of the people.

On leaving England after the Colonial Conference in 1907, General Botha gave a message to the working men of Great Britain assuring them that the position of the British working men in the Transvaal would receive his best attention. It has often been said that the only genuine workers of South Africa are the natives, and in 1877 Lord Courtney insisted that there could never be a large white population in South Africa because white men will not work by the side of black. At present, it must be owned, the labour parties in South Africa have a somewhat exotic air; the day of an industrial South Africa is not yet. But if there is truth in the argument put forward in this and previous chapters, South Africans are bound eventually to be forced into industrialism whether by each other's downward pressure, or by the upward pressure of the native. Already we constantly hear the most responsible and respected of the Dutch-speaking people vigorously preaching the gospel of work and of self-help.

Democratic policy is not only improving the position of the British workers in South Africa, but preparing the ground which half the nation will

one day have to occupy. The labour party calls for adequate Workmen's Compensation Acts, Factories and Workshops Acts, and a fair wage clause in all Government contracts, the exclusion of contract labour, and various purely political changes. There is also a demand for the official recognition of the Postal and Telegraph Clerks' Association, and for allowing the men in the executive branch of the service freedom to act as they please in politics. All these things, with two exceptions, have already been granted in the United Kingdom.

The two exceptions are the exclusion of contract labour—a question peculiar to new countries—and the grant of political freedom. This is not the place to discuss these matters in detail. But when South Africans look forward they can hardly fail to see that it concerns the entire nation to secure for the industrial population conditions allowing for a full and healthy life. The labour party may be mistaken in some respects; but at least it aims at discharging a great national work, that of making industry a vocation worthy of the best men. This is too great a work to be left to a struggling party. It must be taken up in earnest by the nation and by the national government and the national Prime Minister.

The British Colonies have as yet produced little literature or art. South Africa has perhaps produced as much as the others, but the output of this kind is small indeed compared to the riches of its history in romantic and tragic incident. Here, too, we must not wish to forestall nature, nor doubt that a natural development will come in the natural course. If no great catastrophe supervenes, the agricultural and mineral industries of the country will rapidly expand ; other industries will follow ; idealism and democracy will join hands, and the national muses will not long delay their coming.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE NATION'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

IN his volume criticising Lord Grey's book on the Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell, Lord Norton spoke of the relations between the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies in words which forty years ago sounded paradoxical, but must now be acknowledged wise, and will perhaps hereafter seem prophetic.

“Self-sustaining colonies,” he said, “are connected by a living link. The connection with them is an active partnership. England has the advantage of a territorial extension, liberating, not taxing, her resources; and the colonies have the credit and good-will of England's trade and name. This is an union not likely to dissolve itself, but daily accumulating pledges for its continuance, strengthening itself, and excluding instead of inviting foreign aggression.” This is the position

to-day as regards South Africa, which is now more intimately united with the British Empire than it ever was before, because the connection is not rigid but organic, so that the natural growth of each nation in the Empire must tend to strengthen the relationship instead of making it irksome.

There is, however, a school of statesmen who are not satisfied with this, and are set upon finding artificial means of binding together the different parts of the Empire which are growing together without their aid. It is important to recognise that in the case of South Africa at any rate there is only one possible tie of Empire, and that is freedom. With this, other associations will gradually and inevitably spring up. Without it, no alternative is of the least efficacy, except indeed superior force, which has (amongst others) the disadvantage of being costly. The most important of the proposed artifices of imperial consolidation is the system of preferential tariffs.

We have already seen that, as far as this is an economic question, the proposed policy offers hardly anything to South African agriculture; it offers nothing at all to the mines, nor to the nascent manufacturing industries, but it might do immense mischief if it were carried without such a measure of general consent as would ensure its

permanence. On the whole, then, in the economic sphere it is far less likely to benefit South Africa than to injure it, by enticing its people to cater for a market which is sure to be closed against them as soon as there is any serious shortage in the world's supplies. It will be generally conceded that a policy which inflicts economic injury on a great colony does not tend to draw it closer to the rest of the empire.

But the political aspect of the question demands closer attention on the part of South Africans. Agreements involving preference are already in existence as between South Africa on the one side and Canada and New Zealand on the other. As South Africa exports hardly anything to those Dominions, and they send a good deal to South Africa, the agreements are one-sided; as far as can be gathered from the statistics, they are not tending to develop the export trade of South Africa, and this being so it can hardly be contended that they are fastening the bonds of empire.

There is also mutual preference between South Africa and Australia. This is hardly less one-sided, and when at last South Africa was in a position to take advantage of the arrangement by sending a few ship-loads of oats to Australia the Australian authorities found that there were diffi-

culties about admitting them owing to the existence of diseases in the same colony, though not in the same neighbourhood, as the oats came from. This led to a vigorous interchange of messages, and such strong feeling was provoked that the Legislative Assembly of the Cape unanimously carried a resolution threatening to withdraw the preference to Australia.

It must be acknowledged that this experiment lends no countenance to the theory that preferential tariffs might bind the empire together. Nor does the past experience of South Africa engender confidence in this theory. Preferential tariffs were in existence for a long time at the Cape, and it would be impossible to pretend that they contributed to good-will between the United Kingdom and South Africa.

The South African tariff now gives a considerable preference to British goods. This was decided when the High Commissioner controlled more than half the South African colonies. When the preference policy was discussed in the Cape Parliament before the meeting of the Inter-Colonial Conference which agreed to it, all parties united in condemning it. It would not, therefore, be correct to say that in the first instance South Africa gave a preference to the United Kingdom,

but that the United Kingdom gave itself a preference in South Africa. It is true that this preference has now been continued for the time being, but this is one of the worst features of the case, for if the older population of South Africa consents to preference, it does so, not because it believes preference to be advantageous to either party or likely to unite the empire, but simply because it considers it judicious not to incur the wrath of those who, rather paradoxically, regard a belief in preference as an essential ingredient in loyalty. In fact the preference policy compels half the population of South Africa to choose between a policy which they disapprove and which they do not believe to be in the interest of either South Africa or the Empire, and a reputation for disloyalty.

Those who consider that this is consolidating the Empire must be left to the enjoyment of their comfortable faith.

But judicious men will certainly look askance on proposals which aim at uniting the Empire by methods likely to inflict economic injury on some at least of its component parts, and to teach South Africans that loyalty consists of cutting themselves with the knives and lancets of doctrinaire tariffs.

It is generally supposed that certain institutions are to be counted among the pillars of empire. First of these is the system of appointing Governors from England. This system has some undoubted advantages, as it ensures the presence in England of a number of men in high position who have some experience of life in other parts of the Empire; and men of the class from which Governors are usually drawn generally make many friends among South Africans if they live long enough in the country. But the political value of this system depends entirely on the character of the men appointed. Speaking of the colonies generally, it may be remembered that in New Zealand Sir George Grey declaimed against the appointment of needy noblemen who regard the governorship as, amongst other things, a means of repairing their family fortunes by the simple method of not spending their very large salaries. It would be a mistake to suppose that the foundations of the Empire are ultimately strengthened by vice-regal courts, or by futile magnificence. On the other hand, when a Governor comes to a country to understand it and to hold the balance even between contending parties he may do much good.

A very much more important link of Empire is

the British Navy. But here again exaggeration is to be deprecated.

The Navy is an Imperial institution in the sense that it protects the whole Empire, but strategists insist that the sea is one, that all the coasts in the world are at the mercy of the power which is supreme in the North Sea or the Mediterranean, and therefore that the existence of the colonies has no direct relation to the question of the proper size of the British Navy, which must in any case be paramount in order to defend the United Kingdom and its trade, and being paramount impassively protects the colonies by its very existence. Nor can it be maintained that South Africa is bound to belong to the strongest sea power. Its own history sufficiently disproves this contention. But though the Navy does not exist for the sake of South Africa, and though South Africa might be free from invasion without it, every responsible South African recognises the immense debt which the country owes it for giving it security, and is prepared to express that recognition in proper form.

Something of the same kind may be said of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The belief that the right of appeal to the King in Council tends to uphold the Empire is little more than a superstition. It is a right which gives an

advantage to the rich over the poor, for only the rich can avail themselves of it, and therefore it is dangerous to insist too much upon it, seeing that there are more poor men than rich in the Empire. But on the other hand the judgments of the Privy Council command profound respect, not only among lawyers, who may be suspected of judging on purely technical grounds, but among men of affairs in general ; the strength of the personnel of the judges is also very generally recognised, and on the whole it may be said that the court commands confidence, though its distance heavily discounts its usefulness.

If the Empire cannot be held together by preferential tariffs, governors from Downing Street, the Navy and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, still less can it be held together at the present time by schemes of political union. It has been observed that there is some general resemblance between the different parties in different portions of the Empire. An English Liberal or Conservative finds in Canada and South Africa that there is a party to which he has a natural affinity. But it would be unsafe to use this as a basis for any general reference. It does not hold in the case of Australia ; in South Africa party divisions have been overshadowed, for a time at

any rate, by the question of union ; and in Canada the principles which separate the hostile parties seem to be losing distinctness.

It is true that there are men in different parts of the Empire who believe in leaving well alone ; and others who cannot rest unless they are inventing or applying artificial cords to tie the Empire together, but at present parties are not formed on these principles. In short, there are as yet no imperial parties. The future will have its own answers for its own problems, but at the present juncture nothing but mischief can come of the definite alliance between parties in one quarter of the Empire with parties in another, especially if the English parties are concerned, for if the Colonial Office were to be used by colonial parties for their own ends whenever their friends happened to be in power in England, the Empire would quickly become an intolerable tyranny.

Imperial parties would be dangerously premature if they were formed before the present political constitution of the Empire had been radically altered. Nor has the time yet arrived for thinking of constitutional changes of this kind. Even in Canada opinion is not ripe, much less in South Africa ; and nothing but disaster could come of anticipating the real opinion of the colonies.

In order to frame a wise policy it is necessary to make a precise survey of the line between the essential and the unessential. Those who are anxious to draw the Empire together must therefore begin by ascertaining exactly what is the moving principle of union, so that they may insist on that and not waste their efforts or defeat their own purpose by blindfold impetuosity. It is on this behalf that the foregoing considerations have been advanced, not with any desire to minimise the value of institutions and ideas, some of which are among the proudest heirlooms of the British race, but in order to throw into relief the one principle which holds the empire together, and which must therefore be emphasised by those who are anxious to promote imperial consolidation.

In speaking on the Australian Commonwealth Bill, Mr. Chamberlain declared that it was necessary to realise once for all that the relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies depend absolutely on their consent. Here is the mainspring of empire—the consent of the colonies; and here is the point upon which to direct imperial policy—the strengthening of the colonies' confidence in the imperial system.

The great colonies are the homes of vigorous and growing nations, which are at present little

interested in the international politics of the old world, being wisely preoccupied in the conduct of their own development, and therefore their main concern is to secure internal freedom. The system of the British Empire if judiciously administered is perfectly adapted to safeguarding this. Hence its potential greatness, because it makes unique provision for the operation of the essential principle of imperial growth and union.

It follows that as regards South Africa the point on which imperial policy must press is the strengthening of the conviction in South Africa that the Empire provides for the perfect freedom of national development. Everything which strengthens this conviction makes for the consolidation of the Empire; everything which weakens it impairs the vital bond of union.

Certainly this doctrine is not without authority. On the eve of the Colonial Conference of 1907 Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke of the supreme importance of self-government as the bond of empire, and added that the relations between Canada and the United Kingdom were perfectly satisfactory. In 1905 the House of Assembly in Natal recorded the opinion "that Imperial and South African interests will best be served by leaving South Africa to work out its own destiny." In view of

the complexity both of British and of Colonial problems, and the limitation of human powers, it may also be apposite to quote Lord Cromer's pregnant remark that it is wise for nations, as for individuals, to mind their own business.

It must be added that the freedom of the colonies sometimes has to be reckoned with in international questions. When the colonies are directly concerned in negotiations with foreign powers the Imperial Government must as far as possible act as their agent; indeed, this is amply recognised in the case of Canada. Froude pronounced that "a colony has no external policy." It would, perhaps, be truer to say that where colonial interests are concerned the Imperial Government has no policy but that of the colonies, for this ought to hold good absolutely unless other imperial interests are involved. If this principle is granted the system of the empire is precisely adapted to the needs of the colonies, and therefore nothing is required to ensure imperial consolidation except to protect the colonies from the interference of misguided politicians.

Evidently this is of peculiar importance in the case of South Africa, where force has so recently been used to draw a large part of the population within the British Empire. If the foregoing argu-

ment is just, if the union of the Empire depends upon the consent of the colonies, and that consent upon confidence that the Empire ensures full liberty of national development, then it must plainly be a matter of surpassing moment to leave the new citizens of the Empire to their experience of its working. This is the sovereign remedy of any doubt which may still linger in South African minds, and it must be the source of great and ever-increasing wonder to the external world that this sovereign remedy should be the peculiar property of England. Some thirty years ago Sir Bartle Frere discovered a paper by a German resident in South Africa, advocating German sovereignty over the whole country, and arguing that the Germans are far better qualified to deal with the problems of South Africa than "the more inflexible and stiff-necked English." But it is because of these qualities that England has evolved the principle of self-government, and it is because of that principle that South Africa can fulfil its destiny as a part of the Empire, and that the whole fabric of the Empire stands four-square.

Considering all this, it is evident that the initiative in the work of imperial consolidation ought to be left to the colonies, and that nothing must be done which does not command the spon-

taneous and genuine consent of such elements in the population of the Empire as the Canadian French and the South African Dutch, for a true consolidation can only come from a real conviction permeating the people of the colonies, and to fore-stall this by insinuations and suggestions from England, perhaps conveyed through subterranean and submarine connections between English and colonial parties, would be to substitute the pretence for the reality and to pawn away the Empire's birthright in order to give immediate gratification to a carnal appetite for display.

If British politicians are sage enough to leave well alone in South Africa, and if no dispute arises between the United Kingdom and nations to which South Africans are naturally well disposed, a centripetal tendency may be expected to develop in the normal course before many years are passed. At first this may take the form of a hearty co-operation on the part of South Africa in such modest but effective advances as the improvement and cheapening of cable communications, the standardisation of company law, agreement on uniform trade marks and statistics, reciprocity in regard to land surveyors, and perhaps the general recognition of naturalisation in any part of the Empire.

In the United Kingdom good may be done by

encouraging the study of South African history and law, by the general diffusion of an active interest in South African affairs, by sympathy, and by frank hospitality. Afterwards, as liberty does its healing and invigorating work, as confidence passes into the settled temper of the people, as the urgent pressure of South African problems relaxes and the nation acquires leisure to look out more upon the world, the natural instinct for taking part in international politics may be expected to show itself in a movement for the constitutional reorganisation of the Empire. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the movement which will bring about the political consolidation of the British Empire may have its origin among the Dutch-speaking people of South Africa.

It would be false to pretend that there are no clouds in the South African sky. It is still possible that the importunity of Imperial politicians may mar the fortunes of South Africa and of the British Empire. It is conceivable that the National Government will not possess sufficient determination to avoid shipwreck on the rocks of finance, and will allow the nation's resources to be wasted on administration, and its future to be imperilled by debt. It is imaginable that the good sense of the leading men will not suffice to check

the hotspurs who would have the nation rush on unspeakable calamities rather than accept the settlement embodied in the draft constitution with regard to the native question. If a wrong policy is insisted upon in any of these matters it may prove the death-blow of the bright hopes which are now legitimate, and make of no account all the efforts, all the struggles, all the greatness which have been spent in the cause of South Africa. But if saner counsels prevail, and if South Africa has the sagacity and the self-restraint to avoid the menacing dangers which are already visible behind the entrance to the paths of folly, there need be no pause in the nation's advance, and having steered a safe course through its internal difficulties, it may emerge fortified by trial, and ready to fulfil the great trust which is committed to it in Africa, and the destiny which awaits it in the world.

## APPENDIX A.

Despatch from Governor Sir George Grey,  
K.C.B., to the Right Honourable Sir E. B.  
Lytton, Bart.

CAPE TOWN, 19 Nov., 1858.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your private despatch of the 6th of September last, calling upon me for an expression of my views upon the policy of incorporating British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, and, if possible, of uniting all Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa under some common, and, of course, free Government.

2. When the policy was adopted of dividing South Africa into many states, bound together by no ties of union, it was thought that the mother country derived no real benefit from the possession of this part of the African continent, except in

holding the seaport of Simon's Bay. It was also thought that peace was ruin to the Cape Colony ; that the expenditure of the British money during wars made the fortunes of its inhabitants ; that they therefore encouraged such wars, often in the most profligate and unscrupulous manner.

The European inhabitants beyond the Orange River were believed to be really rebels. It was thought that, even in Cape Town, it might at any moment be necessary to employ a military force to punish the inhabitants, and to prevent the commission of disgraceful scenes. So strongly was this apprehension of disloyalty felt, that even when the countries beyond the Orange River were thrown off, and the question of their federation amongst themselves arose, it was thought that it would be desirable to encourage such a measure, not with a view to the interests of the inhabitants, but because if they were united into one country they would have but one Government and one capital ; that therefore when it was necessary to punish or re-conquer them, it would be only requisite to deliver one blow at one point, instead of several blows at two or more points.

3. It was further thought that the occupation by Great Britain of the country beyond the Orange River had been a bubble and a farce, in which the

Cape Colonists were all interested; for that it was to them a great gaming table, and out of the reach of the police. That the country was itself, in great part, a desert, and would hardly keep half-starved antelopes. That it could never produce wool, as the Boers were so prejudiced, that they would keep nothing but hairy fat-tailed sheep. That the labours of the missionaries amongst the native tribes of Africa had produced no results, as no instances were known of real conversions to Christianity, and that it was a lamentable fact that all the Christianity among the native tribes in Southern Africa was purchased and paid for; its principal and sole object and end being the facility which such means afforded of obtaining gunpowder.

4. These opinions prevailing regarding the country and its inhabitants, the necessary consequence was, that Her Majesty's Government determined to rid themselves of such costly and troublesome possessions, and the measures necessary for doing this were hurriedly carried out before any free form of government had been introduced into, or tried in any part of South Africa. Necessarily, therefore, the wishes of its inhabitants were in no way consulted in regard to what was done.

5. The first step taken was to get rid of the people beyond the Vaal River. A convention was concluded with some people who lived there. The majority of the inhabitants of that country were not consulted on the subject, nor were the Legislatures of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the Orange River Sovereignty, or Natal, or the chief of the neighbouring native nations so consulted. All these persons, therefore, justly or unjustly, as may be, believed, and still believe, their interests to have been injured by this convention. It gave no satisfaction to the mass of the people inhabiting the Transvaal country, who are now trying to split into several republics; and it left all the boundaries of the Transvaal country but one undefined, so that the Government of Portugal, the Government of Natal, and several native states have, at various times, lodged complaints with this Government in reference to the course Great Britain pursued in making this convention, which has in no respect promoted peace or union, but has, apparently, sown seeds of many future disagreements.

6. The next step taken, with the view of getting rid of territory, was the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty, a measure likewise carried out in opposition to the wishes of nearly all

the wealthy and influential inhabitants of that country, as also in opposition to the wishes of nearly all the European and native inhabitants of South Africa, who live without the Orange River territory. In this case, also, the boundaries were left unsettled, and many outstanding questions with the neighbouring tribes left unadjusted, from which constant difficulties have since sprung.

7. The treaties existing with Moshesh, Waterboer, and other native chiefs, were then declared to be at an end, Natal and Kaffraria became separate and independent dependencies of the Crown, and the dismemberment of South Africa, as far as it was then intended to carry it, became complete.

8. Great Britain, when this had been done, stood in this position in reference to South Africa:—She had three several possessions here: the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the Colony of Natal, and the dependency of British Kaffraria. No mutual relations whatever existed between these. They were independent countries, which had no common council which could arrange measures for the general safety and defence, although they were surrounded by barbarous enemies, to repel or resist whom union was so necessary. Two of them had free representative legislatures, between which no mutual intercommunication existed.

Then there were two or more independent European republics lying beyond our borders, the Governments and Legislatures of which were in no way bound up with ours, and which, like all bodies who have newly gained their freedom, were likely to take opportunities of exercising it, as if for the sole purpose of assuring themselves and others that they really possessed it. It would evidently have been a matter of the greatest difficulty to induce all the above-named European states, which had no common congress or council belonging to them, to have agreed upon any general plan of policy, or of mutual defence.

9. On the other hand, all the European states had residing within their limits numbers of dangerous barbarians, and were surrounded by nations of wily and able enemies, who had, for a series of years, been engaged in wars with them; and the usual difficulty had been created which follows the abandonment of territory in the face of a barbarous people. Prestige was lost, and the barbarians hoped, if they pressed us hard, that still larger tracts of country would be abandoned.

10. At the same time Great Britain was believed (rightly or wrongly, as may be) to be placed, by the conventions she has made, in this anomalous position: that she could conclude no treaty, form

no alliance with any native tribes, whilst the independent republics could conclude such treaties and alliances with them as they thought proper; and that she was bound to prevent the native nations from obtaining supplies of arms and ammunition for the protection of life or property, whilst she was bound to permit the inhabitants of the independent republics always to obtain such supplies of arms and ammunition as they might require, without reference to the objects for which they might be used. Hence arose a belief amongst the native tribes that Great Britain had determined to bring about, indirectly, their ultimate extermination, and that nothing but a general combination amongst themselves could prevent this result from being arrived at.

11. The public revenues of all the great tract of country occupied by the states and tribes alluded to consisted principally of duties of customs, which might be levied at the ports of Simon's Bay, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and D'Urban. These duties were paid indifferently by all the European and native inhabitants of the several states into which the southern portion of Africa is divided. But Great Britain made an arrangement by which all the duties of customs levied at the ports of Simon's Bay, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth,

and East London, were placed under the control of the Legislature of the Cape of Good Hope, for the sole benefit of that single colony ; whilst all the dues levied at the port of D'Urban were placed under the control of the Legislature of Natal, for the benefit of that colony. Thus was established a cause of jealousy, dissatisfaction and future contention between the two colonies, the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and the whole of the rest of Southern Africa. In the case of the Orange River Sovereignty, one of the reasons for abandoning it was that its revenues were not equal to its expenses ; yet, when Her Majesty's subjects were cast off, virtually nearly all revenue was taken from them by any claim they might have on the revenues of customs being ignored.

12. The colony of Natal is very fertile, but it is extremely limited in extent. The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is probably, as a whole, the least fertile part of Southern Africa, and its boundaries are now strictly defined, so that it admits of no extension. The countries which lie beyond the Orange River are very fertile and productive ; some of them are so to the highest degree. Their extent may be said to be boundless, and in many portions they are capable of

carrying a very dense population. The population of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is continually spreading into these countries. In a few years, therefore, they must, in products, resources, and number of inhabitants, far surpass the united Colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal.

13. Although these European countries lying beyond our Colonies are treated as separate nations, their inhabitants bear the same family names as the inhabitants of this Colony, and maintain with them ties of the closest intimacy and relationship. They speak, generally, the same language, not English but Dutch. They are, for the most part, of the same religion, belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church. They have the same laws, the Roman Dutch. They have the same sympathies, the same prejudices, the same habits, and frequently the same feelings, regarding the native races, although marked and rapid changes in public opinion, in relation to this subject, are taking place, as also in reference to the increasing use of the English language, and the adoption of English customs.

14. I think there can be no doubt that, in any great public, or popular, or national question or movement, the mere fact of calling these people different nations would not make them so, nor

would the fact of a mere fordable stream running between them sever their sympathies or prevent them from acting in unison. I think that many questions might arise in which, if the Government on the south side of the Orange River took a different view from that on the north side of the river, it might be very doubtful which of the two Governments the great mass of these people would obey.

15. The only bond of union which at present holds together these States, European and native, is the High Commissioner. He must generally be a stranger, unacquainted with the people, their language, or forms of thought, and with no general council to advise him,\* nor with any means whatever of becoming acquainted with the general current of public opinion or feeling throughout the mass of States and people. A slight failure of temper or judgment on his part might, at any time, bring on a native war, a general rising of the natives, or a European rebellion.

16. The defects of the system thus described

\*Note.—He has an Executive Council, as the Governor of Cape Colony; but these gentlemen know little or nothing of the state of public opinion in other Colonies or States.

appear to be that the country must be always at war in some direction, as some one of the several States, in pursuit of its supposed interests, will be involved in difficulties, either with some European or native State. Every such war forces all the other States into a position of an armed neutrality or of interference. For if the State is successful in the war it is waging, a native race will be broken up, and none can tell what territories its dispersed hordes may fall upon. Nor can the other States be assured that the coloured tribes generally will not sympathise in the war, and that a general rising may not take place. Ever since South Africa has been broken up in the manner above detailed, large portions of it have always been in a state of constant anxiety and apprehension from these causes. The smallness and weakness of the States, and a knowledge that they are isolated bodies, bound by no ties of interest or common government with other States, has encouraged the natives to resist and dare them, whilst the nature of the existing treaties, and the utter abandonment of the natives by Great Britain, to whom they had hitherto looked up, has led the natives to combine for their mutual protection, and thus to acquire a sense of strength and boldness such as they have not hitherto shown, so that whilst the Europeans have

appeared to grow weak, they have felt themselves increase in strength and importance.

17. Again, such petty States must be constant foci of intrigues and internal commotions, revolutions, or intestine wars. The affairs which occupy their legislatures are so small that they can raise no class of statesmen to take enlarged and liberal views. They can only inadequately provide for the education or religious instruction of their people. They can possess no able Bar, no learned Judges, can have no efficient administration of justice. Trade and commerce must, therefore, necessarily languish. Their revenues will be so small that they cannot efficiently provide for their protection. Hence a new inducement is given to the surrounding native races to attack them. Life and property thus become insecure, and a general lawlessness follows, the effect of which is most detrimental upon the Government of this Colony, and upon the interests of Great Britain.

18. In recommending a remedy for this state of things, I would urge that experience has shown that the views which led to the dismemberment of South Africa were mistaken ones. That, in point of fact, Her Majesty's possessions here are of great and yearly increasing value to the trade and commerce of Great Britain, and may be made

valuable to an almost indefinite extent. That it has now been conclusively shown that the people do not desire Kafir wars; that they are fully aware of the much greater advantages they derive from the peaceful pursuits of industry, and from cultivating their valuable exports. That they are willing to contribute largely to the defence of the portion of Her Majesty's possessions which they inhabit, and would do so much more largely if they were allowed to take a more direct share in the administration of the affairs of this country, and that Her Majesty has no more faithful and loyal subjects than the inhabitants of this country are. That missionaries have already produced, and are producing, most beneficial effects and influences amongst the tribes of the interior.

19. What, therefore, I would recommend would be that an Act of Parliament should be passed, or that some measures should be taken, which would permit of the several States and Legislatures of this country forming amongst themselves a federal union, such as their several interests would show them to be for the common good.

20. This union of federated States would possess a general Government administered by a Governor, representing and appointed by Her Majesty, assisted by a Legislature chosen by the

people of the several States, which would have powers of legislation upon all points of general interest, and relating to the proportions in which the general revenues should be divided between the several States. To the general Legislature would also belong the duty of providing for the general safety.

21. The Governor should, I think, be assisted by what is called a responsible ministry, possessing the confidence of the general Legislature, without whose advice it would not be competent for him to act. Such council would, probably, be made up of the representatives of the several States, so that a knowledge of the requirements and feelings of every part of this vast country would be brought to bear on each question which came under discussion ; an advantage which only those who have to carry on the government under the present system could fully estimate.

22. The several States should, I think, through their own local governments and legislature, have full and free scope of action left to them in all subjects which relate to their individual prosperity or happiness. The heads of their local governments should correspond with the general Federal Government upon all necessary points, so that they might act in conjunction with that Govern-

ment in relation to all subjects which concerned the general safety or weal.

23. Under such a form of government a large number of persons in each State would be trained to take general views upon the highest questions relating to the common welfare. No war could be entered upon but with the general consent of all the States. If any dispute arose between one of the States and a native chief, the demands made upon such chief would be probably just ones, for they would be considered by a large and impartial body. They would, from this cause alone, command respect; but I think they would not be likely to be disputed, for it would be known that a demand made in the name of such a large federation would certainly be ultimately enforced.

24. Under such a system I think it very improbable that any large native war would again take place; but if it did, it would be entered upon with enthusiasm by the people upon whom it had been forced. It would have been determined upon by their own representatives after every fitting effort had been made to avoid it, and they would provide large means for carrying it on. They could not then say, as they might now say, it had been brought on by the mismanagement of a High Commissioner or the Home Government, and that they

had nothing to do with the matter. I do not think that such a system as I propose would immediately relieve Great Britain from all military charges in reference to this country, but I think it would, at once, tend to diminish these charges, and ultimately greatly to reduce them.

25. The Governor, acting also in accordance with the advice of a responsible ministry, would avoid all the hazards now incurred by the High Commissioner of seriously involving Her Majesty with the inhabitants of this country if he then adopted any measures repugnant to their feelings. His proceedings would simply lead to a change in the administration, not to the very serious disputes and differences with the home authorities which might now take place.

26. I do not think it necessary to advert to the additional security which would be obtained for life and property under the system I have proposed; to the confidence which would then be created in the decisions of the constituted courts; to the encouragement which would be given to talent by the openings offered in the Administration, in the Senate, on the judicial Bench, at the Bar; to the encouragement and security which would be given to trade and commerce by uniformity of insolvency laws, and of laws regulating

bills of exchange, as also from the prevalence of general peace and security; to the prosperity and contentment which would follow from a fair application throughout the whole of South Africa to great public works, and improvement of the general revenues, to which all alike contribute; and to the great increase to the revenues which would follow from the stimulus given to trade and industry by peace and prosperity, so that the very States which abandoned a share of the whole revenues which they now enjoy might reasonably hope to gain more than they lost; these and like points will suggest themselves to any one who considers the entire plan now proposed.

It may be sufficient generally to say that while South Africa, now broken up into various European and native States, many of which are without revenues, without firm governments, without hope for the future, and are involved in intestine and foreign disputes, appears to be drifting, by not very slow degrees, into disorder and barbarism, hopelessly giving itself up to an uncertain and gloomy future, to provide against the exigencies of which it is powerless, under such a system as I propose, the inhabitants of all parts of the Continent generally, who are nearly allied to one another by relationship or common interests,

would be enabled to unite for their common interests and defence, and to provide year by year for the varied exigencies of the country which may arise either from their contact with the native tribes or from some of the manifold chances to which all nations, especially those inhabiting vast and populous continents, are liable. I feel sure that such a system will save Great Britain from vast future expense and anxiety; if it is adopted, it will only then be necessary for her to determine in each case of difficulty which may arise (and I do not think many such would arise) what aid it is in her power to afford.

27. The general Government of this Colony, when made acquainted with this, would then calculate its own resources, and determine what it was capable of undertaking.

28. Ever since I have been in this country I have found an increasing willingness on the part of the inhabitants to provide for their own safety and defence. I attribute this to their having only recently enjoyed a free legislature; and I am entirely satisfied that if, with a generous confidence, they are permitted, upon a still larger scale, to take such measures as they think necessary for their own safety, and for that of their friends and relations, whom they will never regard as a foreign

nation, they will make still more ample and willing efforts to relieve Great Britain from all unnecessary charges in relation to South Africa.

29. Such a proceeding as I advocate would also prevent the advantage of sweeping away those existing treaties which now embarrass us so much. Hereafter, also, no *treaties* would be necessary. The general Legislature would make all laws which were necessary, relating to the subject which the treaties now embrace. Such laws would be subject to the confirmation or disallowance of Her Majesty. The authority of Great Britain, in relation to these subjects, would therefore be as great as it is now; but a law, not a treaty, would fix these subjects. The law would have been made by the people of the country, and must be in conformity with their wishes; not perhaps adverse to these, as the existing treaties are. If the law proved inconvenient in practice, as the treaties are, the law could at once be got rid of by the same power that made it. Treaties, on the other hand, remain in force, and we are bound by them.

30. In answer to the several questions raised in your letter, I beg to state that I do not think that Natal could conveniently be united in a federal union with this Colony, unless the Orange Free State was included in the same union, otherwise

it would be entirely separated from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope by large intervening tracts of country occupied by another nation.

31. Nor do I think that Kaffraria would be advantageously united with the Cape Colony, without the consent of the Colonial Parliament having been previously obtained.

32. But I think that if the several legislatures of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and the Orange Free State were empowered to form a Federal union, embracing Kaffraria within their limits, and adopting into their union, either now or hereafter, all such States as might see fit to join them, including even native States, they would accept such a measure. That probably the present Cape Colony would be broken into two or three such States, and that representatives sent from the respective legislatures would, conjointly with the Governor, settle all matters of detail, without giving further trouble to the Home Government in relation to them.

33. Much, of course, depends on the circumstances of the country when it is first known here that Her Majesty's Government would consent to such a line of policy being pursued. Recently there has been, from the difficulties which have prevailed in the country, a very general desire to

see such a measure adopted as I have now proposed ; but this has been, to a great extent, chilled and repressed by the frequently expressed determination of Her Majesty's Government for the future to avoid any changes in the line of policy which they had adopted in regard to South Africa. People, therefore, feared that no change would be assented to, until some great difficulties had arisen.

34. But I think the answer that should be made to any objections raised to re-opening these questions should be that the arrangements now in force in South Africa were not only necessarily made without the sentiments of its inhabitants having been consulted, but even against their well-known wishes ; and that now that they have representative bodies, and have become used to self-government, it is at once a generous and prudent line of policy to readjust these, in conformity with their well-ascertained desires, fortified as these would be by local knowledge and experience. By adopting this course all sympathies and interests would be evoked in favour of the line of policy it was determined to pursue, and a willing people would strive to make successful that which they had themselves recommended. Now the difficult question constantly arises, how are the inhabitants of this

country to be induced to give their personal services, and to vote large sums of money, for the promotion of objects which they deem unsuited to their circumstances, and adverse to their interests : and I fear that this difficulty will, year by year, increase, and that England will find it more and more difficult to retire from the costly system on which it has entered.

35. It is also hardly possible to help wishing that if ever England should be compelled to retire from this country, and to throw its inhabitants entirely on their own resources, it should leave them in such a state that they could' provide, at least, tolerably, for their own safety, and ultimately attain to prosperity and greatness ; so that blessings might follow the mother country as she withdrew, and it might hereafter be admitted that her rule had been beneficial and far-seeing. But if she is ever forced to retire from this country whilst South Africa is divided as it now is, a long period of anarchy, confusion, and trouble must prevail, and, it is to be feared, that sentiments of indignation will rather be felt against Great Britain, which forced such difficulties upon the people here, than those feelings of gratitude which it would be so d'esirable to see entertained.

36. All the foregoing considerations, as they

successively arise, appear conclusively to show how desirable it is to allow to the people of South Africa an opportunity of exercising some influence on their own future destiny.

37. I have not thought it necessary to trouble you with any details of the form of government I should propose for the States of the contemplated Federal Union. The constitution of New Zealand embodies the model which I should propose for adoption, and that form of government could easily be so altered as to suit in every particular the circumstances of South Africa.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) G. GREY.

## APPENDIX B.

### Lord Selborne's Despatch.

[Lord Selborne's Despatch was addressed by the High Commissioner to the Governor of the Cape. It was sent from the High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg, on January 7, 1907. The first and the last two paragraphs are here omitted. The first refers to the previous correspondence in which Lord Selborne had been invited to write on the subject: the last two refer to a memorandum not written by Lord Selborne, but edited by him, and expressing more fully the views contained in the body of the Despatch, as printed below.]

...To review the present situation in South Africa in such a manner that the public may be informed as to the general position of affairs throughout the country is a task which I should never have undertaken had I not been requested to do so by those

who have a right to demand my services—the Ministers of the responsible governing Colonies of Cape Colony and Natal. It is my dearest conviction that no healthy movement towards federation can emanate from any authority other than the people of South Africa themselves; but, when I am called upon by those occupying the most representative and responsible positions in the country to furnish such material as is in my possession, for the information of the people of South Africa, it is clearly my duty to comply with the request.

The people of Cape Colony are, in respect of the strictly internal affairs of Cape Colony, in the enjoyment of as complete self-government as any free people in the world. This is equally true of the people of Natal, and will presently be equally true of the people of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony, in each case in respect of the strictly internal affairs of their Colony. But in respect of the strictly internal affairs of South Africa, the people of South Africa are not self-governing. They are not self-governing in respect of South African affairs because they have no South African Government with which to govern.

In the nature of things, constant divergences of opinion and of interest arise between the Governments of the Cape Colony, of Natal, of the Orange

River Colony, and of the Transvaal. How can those divergences of opinion and of interest be settled? At present they are settled through the High Commissioner, not, of course, by the High Commissioner. He simply represents the central organisation in which the divergences of opinion or of interest are focussed, and he acts as the servant of the different Colonies in endeavouring to facilitate arrangements and accommodations among themselves. The High Commissioner, however, is not an independent authority. His action is subject to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Westminster, who, in his turn, is a member of a Government subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament. As things, therefore, are at present, in extreme cases of divergence of opinion or interest between the British South African Colonies, even in respect of affairs which are strictly the internal affairs of South Africa, the ultimate authority is the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

It is as a remedy to this system that the minds of men in South Africa are turning to some form of union between the British South African Colonies. True it is that there is another alternative; but it is one which has only to be cited to be rejected. Those Colonies might develop into

States as independent of each other as the States of Europe, which, in case of acute divergences of opinion or of interest, have but two methods of settlement open to them—arbitration or the sword.

Three choices, therefore, lie before the people of South Africa, the make-shift régime of the High Commissioner, the jarring separatism of the States of South America, the noble union of the States of North America.

Of all the questions fruitful in divergence of opinion or of interest to the Colonies of South Africa, there is none so pregnant with danger as the railway question. It is not an exaggeration to say that a field more thickly sown with the seed of future quarrel and strife than the railway systems of South Africa does not exist. As long as the Governments of the five British Colonies in South Africa are wholly separated from, and independent of, each other, their railway interests are not only distinct, but absolutely incompatible. There is a competitive struggle between the ports of Cape Colony and of Natal to snatch from each other every ton of goods which can be snatched. The Orange River Colony desires as many tons of goods as possible to be passed to the Transvaal through its territory, but it is to the interest of Cape Colony that no such tons of goods should

pass into the Transvaal through the Orange River Colony. On every ton which, on its way to the Transvaal, passes into the Orange River Colony at Norval's Pont, the Cape Colony loses revenue compared with what she would receive if it passed into the Transvaal by the Kimberley-Fourteen Streams-Klerksdorp line. In the same way it is to the interest of Natal to pass the goods consigned to the Transvaal from Durban into the Transvaal at Volksrust, and not at Vereeniging through the Orange River Colony. Thus the interests of Cape Colony, of Natal, and of the Orange River Colony conflict the one with the other. But when it comes to considering the railway interests of the Transvaal, then it will be found that the interest of the Transvaal is diametrically opposed to the interests of Cape Colony, of Natal, and of the Orange River Colony. The Transvaal loses revenue on every ton of goods which enters the Transvaal by any other route than that from Delagoa Bay. This has been so from the day when that line was opened to Pretoria. It was this fact which made President Kruger close the drifts in 1895. And the position to-day is exactly what the position was then. If the Transvaal were as indifferent to the welfare of the three sister Colonies as every State in Europe is to the welfare

of every other State, the Transvaal would see that all the trade to the Transvaal came exclusively through Delagoa Bay. And what then would be the position of the railways and the finances of the three sister Colonies and of the ports of Cape Colony and of Natal?

This divergence, this conflict of railway interests, this cloud of future strife, would vanish like a foul mist before the sun of South African Federation, but no other force can dissipate it. There would no longer be a conflict of interests between the railway systems of Natal, of Cape Colony, and of the Orange River Colony. Nor would it any longer be to the interest of the Transvaal to lean exclusively towards Delagoa Bay. The wealth of the Transvaal would be used, not in enriching a foreign port and a foreign country, but in building up a great white population in the British ports of British South Africa with interests identical with her own.

If the possibility of railway rates being made a weapon of international strife is a danger, what would be the danger of Customs war between the British South African Colonies? Imagine each of them with a separate tariff framed expressly with the object of fostering the trade of one Colony to the detriment of the trade of its neighbour! Ima-

gine each Colony ringed round with a barrier of internal Customs Houses! The result would be the destruction of commercial stability, the stagnation of industrial enterprise, the creation of a permanent depression. The sun of progress would go back ten degrees on the dial of South Africa. She would revert, and revert deliberately, to the helpless impotence for national advance to which the thirteen States of America were condemned before the Union, and the Kingdoms, Duchies, and Principalities of Germany before the creation of the German Empire. What a prospect of mutual heartburning and bitterness does not the contemplation of such a catastrophe present! Yet the danger will be imminent unless the Colonies take another step forward towards union. Can they stand still on the compromise embodied in the present Customs Convention? That Convention does not represent a South African Customs policy; it is a compromise between five Colonial Customs policies, almost universally disliked, tolerated only because men shrink aghast from the consequences of a disruption of the Convention. The only path of safety is a forward path to a South African tariff, based on the deliberate policy of the South African people, affording permanent free trade to all South Africans within

South Africa, offering a stable basis of investment to industry and commerce.

There are five systems of law and five organisations for defence. The expense is at the maximum; the return is at the minimum. South Africans of every Colony are justly proud of their system of jurisprudence, and the standard of the Magistracy and of the Bench is second to none in the Empire. But there is no South African Court of Appeal, and so no harmonising co-ordination of all South African law. In default of such a Court of Appeal, the tendency must be towards discordance of legal interpretation, with added obstacles and instability to industry and commerce. The Police, Militia, and Volunteers of South Africa are renowned for their efficiency. In the aggregate they represent a formidable power, but, if a crisis were to arise, there is no machinery whatever for applying that power instantly, and in overwhelming force at the point of danger.

The two great industries of South Africa are agriculture and the mines. In respect of both alike, South Africa is unable to apply all her resources to their development. No race of farmers in the world have more natural difficulties to contend with than those of South Africa. Scab, rinderpest, East African coast fever, locusts, are

each in their degree a constant menace to the farmer. The plagues of nature know no artificial boundaries between Colonies, and are impartial in their visitations ; the farmers, however, in their warfare against these plagues, are heavily handicapped by the multiplicity of authorities. In respect of the diseases of animals, five Agricultural Departments formulate their own systems of prevention, and each co-operates with the corresponding Department of the other Colonies on the basis only of mutual good sense and feeling. Any misunderstanding, which resulted in want of co-operation, might result in a new disease being let loose on a Colony. Imagine the despair of the farmer in the Transvaal, who has successfully destroyed each swarm of locusts that has hatched upon his farm, when he sees fresh swarms of locusts appearing from a neighbouring Colony where the same process of destruction has not been accomplished. Or is it wonderful that the farmers of the Transvaal, of the Orange River Colony, and of Cape Colony alike say, "What is the use of our destroying all the swarms of locusts which are hatched upon our farms when countless myriads, which have been hatched in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, are sure to invade them?" If one South African authority, exercising undisputed powers

from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi, were to carry out one consistent policy in support of the farmers, it is probable that, within a few years, not only would dread pests like the East African coast fever have disappeared, but scab might become rare among South African sheep, and the scourge of locusts might have passed into the record of a bad dream.

The prosperity of the mining industry, as of agriculture, depends on an adequate supply of competent labour. There is a large supply of labour in South Africa, though to what extent it is willing to work is not yet finally ascertained. What is certain is that in many cases the demand for labour is situated in one Colony, and the supply which might fulfil that demand, is situated in another. Any attempt to bring the supply and the demand together can only be made by private individuals who are hampered by the existence of different laws regulating labour questions in the Colony of the demand and the Colony of the supply. What proportion the real supply bears to the demand can never be known until there is one authority in South Africa charged with the task of regulating the labour supply as a whole.

But there are questions even more important than these, which, if not settled by the people of

South Africa, can only drift to a future fraught with danger for their children. What is going to be the policy of South Africa in respect of the immigration of Asiatics? What is going to be the policy of South Africa towards the coloured people? What towards the natives? Those questions are not for me to answer. They can be answered only by the people of South Africa. But I can point out to the people of South Africa that at the present moment they are not answering those questions at all. In respect of each branch of these great human problems, the policy of each Colony differs from that of the other. These human beings are not pawns, and, whatever their stage of civilisation, they will think and feel as human beings. How is it possible that either of these three great classes should be permanently contented with the institutions under which they live when those institutions are to them increasingly unintelligible? They know that each of the Colonies in which they live own allegiance to one King; they know that the white men regard South Africa as one country; but yet, every time one of them passes the unseen boundaries which divide one Colony from another, he finds himself subjected to different treatment, he finds that he is expected to conform to a different set of rules. In

his own mind he forms an opinion as to which conditions are most favourable to him and to his friends, and wherever he finds other conditions prevailing, there he becomes increasingly discontented. It cannot be wise that in one part of the common country Asiatics should be admitted into it on different terms, and under different conditions from those which prevail in other parts. It cannot make for the permanent contentment of the Asiatic immigrant if, once he has been admitted, he finds himself subjected to these divergent and contradictory rules.

The coloured man is a son of the soil. In varying degrees he possesses white blood. He is permanently conscious of the fact that the infusion of that blood differentiates him completely from the natives who surround him. He feels that he has a right to a definite place in the social structure of South Africa, and he is embittered by finding that no such place is accorded to him. He has a definite place in each Colony, but, as has already been stated, he is subjected to different rules in the different Colonies. South Africa, as such, does not recognise him. And he, who ought to be a permanent support to the influence of white rule, is tempted to turn his face backwards to a more sympathetic understanding with that native

population from which he is, in so large a part, derived.

If this is the result on Asiatics with their old civilisation, and on coloured people, some of whom have achieved the complete civilisation of white men, it must be equally true of the really educated natives, a very small body compared with the great mass of the South African natives, but a body which has every claim to intelligent consideration, and far more true must it be of that great mass of natives, not yet emerged, or only just emerging, from barbarism, or in every stage of intermediate development. There are many South Africans with a profound knowledge of the native character. As is natural, they contain among them men of many different opinions on the native question ; but all agree in declaring that native policy, to be successful, must be consistent and continuous. Folly or injustice may or may not provoke disturbances ; but doubt and change in respect of the conditions under which the native lives are almost certain to produce disturbances. All South Africans are agreed that the native question is at once the most important and the most profoundly difficult question which confronts themselves and their children ; but, by the perpetuation of five or six totally different native administrations and policies,

they are doing all that is in their power to make the question more grave and the problem more difficult.

What South Africa requires more than anything else is stability—stability in political conditions, stability in economic conditions, stability in industrial conditions. Stability alone will enable the farmer securely to reap where he has sown ; stability alone will give security to the investment of the merchant and the producer ; stability alone will improve credit ; stability alone will tempt the investor back to South Africa. But true stability will remain impossible so long as there are five separate governments in South Africa, each developing a different system in all branches of public life and each a potential antagonist of the other, but no one national government with authority to harmonise the whole.

It is the profound belief of every Cape Colonist that Cape Colony can only be wisely and successfully ruled by a Cape Colony Government chosen from the elected representatives of the people. What is true of the part is true of the whole—South Africa can only be wisely and successfully governed by a South African Government, responsible to a South African Parliament elected by the South African people.

The past of South Africa has been the sport of circumstances, because no human authority has existed with both the opportunity and the responsibility of moulding those circumstances to a national purpose. The future of South Africa will be what South Africans deserve. . . .

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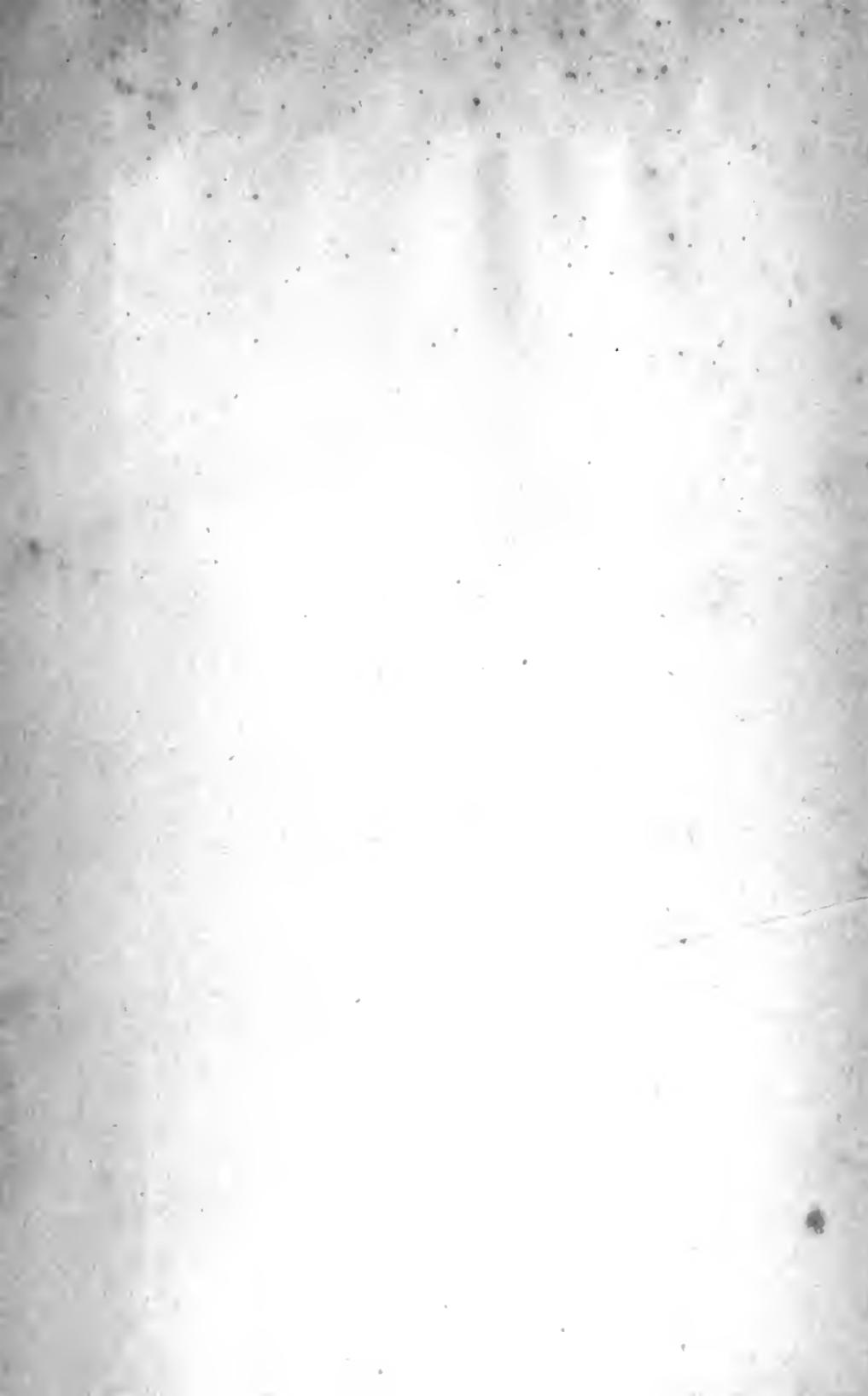
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